



The most Reverend Father in God John Williams.
Sometime L^d Keeper of the Great Seal of England.
L^d Bishop of Lincoln. And L^d Arch Bishop of York.



The most Reverend Father in God John Williams.
Sometime L^d Keeper of the Great Seal of England.
L^d Bishop of Lincoln. And L^d Arch Bishop of York.

THE
L I F E
O F
JOHN WILLIAMS,

L^d KEEPER of the *G R E A T S E A L*,
Bishop of *Lincoln*, and A Bp. of *York*.

In the Reigns of King JAMES, and
King CHARLES the First.

WHEREIN

*Are related several Remarkable Occurrences of
those Times both in Church and State.*

With an APPENDIX,

Giving a just ACCOUNT of his Benefactions
to St. John's College in Cambridge.

By A M B R. P H I L I P S, Fellow
of the same College.

The Second Edition.

C A M B R I G D E,

Printed for A. Roper at the Black Boy; and R. Basset at
the Mitre in Fleetstreet, 1703.

18



3Ni

THE P R E F A C E.

To save my READER the needless trouble of Criticism, I here advertise him once for all, that he shall be mistaken if he takes me for an Author in this Book: I am at best but a Collector, and a Transcriber; and therefore I will not be answerable for any Matter of Fact related in the following Papers, since I have refer'd him all along to the Authors themselves, which I have quoted sometimes for my Dates of Time, sometimes for a farther Illustration of some Passages, which for Brevity's sake I have but just touch'd at; sometimes for parallel Places, to confirm what Bishop Hacket has affirm'd, and sometimes for what contradicts his Account of Things, that so the Reader may hear both sides, and then determine

The Preface.

mine as he pleases. And I would not have it thought that I have soil'd the Margin of my Book (Slovenlineß being accounted by some as the Badge of Learning) to shew my Reading; for I did it merely because we live in an Age that will take nothing upon Trust, and wherein nothing leß than Seeing is Believing. And since it is the common Cheat of Writers to declare themselves unprejudic'd, on purpose to betray their Readers into security, I had no other way left me to shew my Integrity. For I doubt not, if any will be at the same trouble that I have been at, of comparing the several Historians, Letters and Pamphlets of those Times together, but that their Judgment of Bishop Williams will in the main agree with the Account I have given of him. And they will find Reason enough to believe, that neither he nor Bishop Laud are the Monsters, that Partiality and Prejudice, and sometimes Ignorance

The Preface.

rance have made them : and that whatever Blemishes are interwoven with their Glorious Actions (as spots in the Sun) they have sufficient Beauties to compensate for them, and to give them both the lasting Repute of Great and Good Men. Both whose Worth I take to be so Self-sufficient, that there is no need of pulling down one to set up the other. And I am apt to believe (adding this Hint to what I have said upon this Point in the Book it self) that if the truth were known, Buckingham might be accountable in a great measure for the Differences betwixt Laud and Williams; who in all probability when he was disgusted with the Lord Keeper, might engage Laud against him for the speedier and more effectual Accomplishment of his own Revenge in the Ruin of Williams.

The Preface.

Bishop Hacket is the great Store-House whence I have taken my Materials for the following LIFE; and because there may be a great many who may not have Leisure upon their Hands to read him, I have inserted all the Secret History that is remarkable in him into my Work, or at least I have given short Hints of it ev'ry where, and directed those that have a mind for any further Information to the respective places in him, where they may find it. His Lordship's commendable Gratitude to his Great Patron Williams, has made him so very studious of Embellishments for his Life, that I can liken the Lord Keeper, as represented by him, to nothing so properly as to the Statue of some Ancient Hero, so beset with Trophies and Ornaments, that the Comlineß and just Proportion of the Image underneath is scarce discernable at first sight. And Bishop Hacket

The Preface.

Hacket in his Book has set out the Lord Keeper, just for all the World, as he was when Living, that is, surrounded with a multitude of Learning, and all the costly variety of Science.

My First Part, and a great deal of my Second, has nothing in it that is (properly speaking) Historical, but falls rather wholly under the Nation of Biography. For which reason, having but little Matter to work upon, I was forc'd to make the best shift I could to keep my Reader a-doing with occasional Reflections of such sort as the Actions themselves did seem to suggest. And I desire my Reader would pardon me, if I have presented him with a Miscellany of Style, and now and then to humour my self, have been guilty of some little Sallies and Excursions, to divert the Fatigue of Collection.

NOTE,

THE Figures in the Margin
of the Book included in Pa-
rentheses thus (5,) refer to the
Pages in the First Part of Bishop
Hacket's Book; and those in Crot-
chets thus [5,] to the Pages in
the Second Part.

E R R A T A.

Page 69 Line 21. read *arbitratus*. Page 74 Line 11,
read *bear*. Pag. 182 Line 19. read *refugee*.

A CATALOGUE of what Writings Athenæ
Oxon. Vol.
1. p. 805.
of ABP. Williams's are extant, or
were design'd for the Publick.

1. A Sermon of Apparel, before the King and Prince at *Theobalds*, on *Matth. 11. 8. Febr. 22. 1619. Quart. Lond. 1620.*
2. A Sermon before the *Lords*. Quar. *Lond. 1623.*
3. A Sermon at the Funeral of King *James*, *Quart. Lond. 1625.*
4. *Perseverantia Sanctorum, &c.* on *Job 42. 12. Quart. Lond. 1628.*
5. A Letter to the Vicar of *Grant-ham*, *Quart. Lond. 1636.* answer'd by Dr. Pet. Heylyn in his *Coal from the Altar*.
6. The Holy Table, Name and Thing, *Lond. 1637.* which is a Reply to the *Coal from the Altar*. Whereupon Dr. Heylyn publish'd a Rejoynder call'd *Antidotum Lincolnense*.
7. *Annotationes in Vet. Testam. & in Ephesios*, Oct. Cantabr. 1653. publish'd under the Name of *Johan. Eboracensis*, which some suppose to be the Bishop's own.

8. A Manual: or, Three small and plain Treatises, 1. Of Prayer or Active. 2. Of Principles or Passive. 3. Of Resolution or oppositione Divinity; for the private use of a most Noble Lady, to preserve her from the Danger of Popery.

There is likewise a Sermon or two more of his, whose Titles I have not.

9. The Lord Keeper's Letters in the Cabala, and several Speeches and Letters of his in Bishop Hacket's Book.

To these we may add what he design'd for the Publick.

1. *Vaughanus Redivivus*, a MS. Life of Bp. Vaughan, dedicated by Williams to Chancellor Egerton: Which lies now in the Hands of a Learned Gentleman in Cambridge.

2. Comment in Latin upon the whole Bible, begun but never finish'd.

3. A Collection of the Works of Bishop Grosthead, begun likewise but never finish'd.



From his Birth, till such Time
as he was settled in Chan-
cellor Egerton's Family.

PART I.

IN this LIFE, which I have un-
dertaken, I shall use the same Me-
thod with a good Projector, when
he would give a full View of an Ex-
quisite Piece of Architecture, and lay
before you a Prospect of it on all sides.
One entire Draught, tho' never so
well contriv'd, would be but imper-
fect; because in representing one Part
compleat, he must of necessity conceal
another: The Front and the Back-
Parts will never shew themselves at
once. And should I take this Great
Man in but one Posture, tho' never so
graceful, yet I should rob him of a
considerable part of his due Glory,
and my Reader of no less a share of
Profit; since He was One, that might

A be

The LIFE of ABP. Williams,

be a Pattern to any in Four several Respects; as a Private-Man, a Church-Man, a States-Man, and a Declining-Favourite; the most difficult Character of all to sustain, so as to quit the Stage without a general Hiss. Therefore I shall divide my Work according to these Four Circumstances of his Life, beginning from his Birth, with that short Course he ran in Privacy. And 'tis our Misfortune, that active Bodies very rarely continue long in one Posture, scarce long enough indeed for our Imitation; so that we must take them at a Blush, or not at all: So transient, in Truth, is any of those few real Advantages, We have offer'd us; as if Providence design'd we should be always upon our Guard, and ready to catch at Opportunities.

*His Parents
Stage and
Birth.
(5.)*

But, to begin: *Edmond Williams Esq;* of *Aber-Conway* in *Caernarvonshire*, was the Son of *W^m Williams Esq*; of *Coghwillanne*, near adjoyning, and of *Dorothy Daughter to Sir W^m Griffith K^t*, of *Penrhyn*. Now this *Edmond* took to Wife *Mary the Daughter of Owen Wyn Esq*; and by her had Five Sons and Two Daughters. Of the Male Children, *John* (whose Life we

are

are writing) was the Youngest, born about or upon the 25th of March 1582, at *Aber-Conway*, a Sea-Town in *Caernarvanshire*.

Williams of Coghwillanne (his The Arms
of his Fa-
mily.
(6.)) branch'd out his Pedigree from the Princes of *North-Wales*, in King *Stephen's* Days, and so continu'd his Coat of *Three Saxons Heads* (*Tree Pen Saix* in Welsh) constantly without any the least alteration from *Ednevet Vychan*, Lord Steward of *Wales*, in the 25th Year of *Hen. III.*

His Descent, his Parentage, and all the Trappings of Birth I am the more particular in, not as tho' he stood in need of such foreign Embellishments to recommend him; but because Sir *A.W.* and some others, pitifully, as well Co. & Ch.
p. 141. as falsely, strove to insinuate his mean Extraction, when they could invent no other likely Scandal to make him odious at Court: A Practice very general (as may be easily observ'd) when any of the Clergy rise to Places of Dignity and Honour; as tho' a *Cassock* were no more honourable than a *Livery*. But, to proceed:

His Grand-mother, the Lady *Grif-* Is sent to
fith, as well as his Parents, took due
School.

The LIFE of ABP. Williams,

and timely Care of his Education. And that it might be such as should fit him to promote God's Glory, and to be by that means a Credit to them, they determin'd to make him a Scholar. For which End he was sent to the Publick School at *Reuthen*, for his First Rudiments, in *Latin* and *Greek*.
(7.) Here it was that he first gave some small Essays of the future Activity of his Mind: always very busie, and in earnest pursuit of two contrary Courses. For one while nothing would go down with him but Play, and bodily Exercise; another while never without a Book in his Hand. The Master a little surpriz'd, at first knew not well what to make of so strange a Composition. But, like a prudent Man, upon second Thoughts, seeing the eagerness of his Temper, he thought it might not be safe to curb him: so he left him to the swing of his Humour, and the Lad came on a-pace, and soon out-stript all his Fellows. When he had been here for some time close at his Book, and began now to shew himself a little more at large (like a blowing Flower in a forward Spring) It happen'd that Dr. *Vaughan* (after-ward

ward Bishop of *London*) coming into *Wales*, took *Reuthen* in his way: where he found his little Kinsman *John Williams*, the Captain of all the School. The Dr. glad to find him come on so well, and willing to further his growth, <sup>Is remov'd
to Cambridge.</sup> bethought himself of removing him speedily to *Cambridge*. And he admitted him there; entring the 16th Year of his Age, in *Saint John's College*, under the Tuition of One Mr. *Owen Gwin*, a Welsh Gentleman, and Fellow of that House, 1598. And by the College Register, I find that in the same Year he was admitted into the Number of the *Scholars of the House* on the 5th of November.

At *Cambridge* his Countrymen receiv'd him with a hearty Wellcome; and that must always be said for their Honour, That they are sincere and cordial in their Affections to one another, beyond most People. As they carress'd Young *Williams*, so likewise did they never cease praising him, and speaking much in his Commendation up and down the University; insomuch that he was soon distinguished, and had a great many Eyes upon him from the very first; and the more,

*Is carref-
sed by his
Country-
men, and
admired
for his
Beauty,*

The LIFE of ABP. Williams,

because his Beauty, and the comeliness of his Form were very remarkable. And however some Philosophers may speak slightingly of the Endowments of the Body; yet certainly there is in *Physiognomy* somewhat more than a great many dream of; and an outward harmony in the Countenance inclines us to a good liking of the Person at first Sight.

*Laugh'd
at for his
Welsh
Tone.*

There are few of our *Welsh* Youth but at their first coming abroad, would move almost any Man to Laughter with the Native Tone of their Voice, and by pronouncing all their *English*, as if they spoke it in a Passion. And thus it was with our Youngster, which would often put him to the Blush. Those that knew him at his first Admission, would often tell him, That he came up better stock'd with *Latin* and *Greek*, than with good *English*. And well for him that he did; for this made him the more retired Student, because he was resolv'd to shut himself up from all Company as close as possible, till he had smooth'd his Tongue, and could manage it like others his Companions. So soon was he inspir'd with the generous Spirit of Emulation, and was

was ashamed to be outdone, even in what he was never bred to. And this he practiced the more earnestly, by reason of the strong Ambition he had to be an Orator: so that in a short time he overcame this National Defect of his so far, that when ever he had occasion to speak publickly, his Gesture and Pronunciation were as elegant as his Invention, and his Manner gave a Lustre and *Brilliant* to his Matter.

His Natural Parts were far above the common Level; but that which overtopt them all, was his Memory, which was quick and retentive to a Miracle. But yet (in this only like a Miser) he was not satisfied (as too many are) with the plentiful Patrimony with which Nature had furnish'd him; but he was for enlarging his Store, and grasping all he could. So that, altho' his Abilities were such, you'd think they did not need Improvement, yet he apply'd himself to his Study, with that Diligence, as if he had nothing else to depend upon; and was (if I may say so) incontinent in his Appetite after Learning. While he was yet but *Under-Graduate*, he

(8.)
*His Parts,
and Appli-
cation to his
Studies,*

(7.)

The LIFE of ABP. Williams,

had read over many Authors in several Sciences, together with the most considerable Historians and Poets, *Greek and Latin*. A great deal (you'll say) to be done in so short a Time! But it seems Nature was partial to him, and laid but a small Tax upon his Time; for he was of so happy a Constitution, that from his Youth upward he never required more than three Hours Sleep in Twenty-four, to keep him in perfect Health.

(8.)
His Religion and Virtues.

This was the large Fund he had to traffick with, and to become a considerable Man in Time. Now let us see what hopes there were of him as a Christian; since a Defect in this Point is therefore the more inexcusable, because it lies level with all Capacities, and our ignorance is wholly wilful. As for his Religion, he did not make a bustle, a noise and a shew with it, as some Folk do, whom our Saviour assures to their Cost, That they have their Reward. But yet he was very well furnish'd with excellent Morals, and such Virtues as are requisite and commendable in greener Years; for there is a *Decorum* even in these Matters, and all Virtues suit not so well with

*Sleeps but
3 hours in
24.*

with all Ages. As in Practice, so likewise in Opinion, he was careful from the Beginning to avoid all Error; knowing no doubt, that our Thoughts are the Springs of all our Actions, and that in the sight of God they themselves are Actions. He was constant to the Publick Prayers of the College, and conscientious and regular in his own private Devotions. Modesty is a Virgin-Grace, and therefore more becoming Youth: of this we may conclude he had a large share, in that he was all Submission and Obedience to his Superiours, a never-failing sign of an ingenuous Temper. He was Just to his Word, True to his Friend, and Reconcilable to his Enemy; three Qualifications, that distinguish a great Soul from a poor Spirit, and such as a Monarch may be proud of. From his close Studying you may gather he was no loiterer, no idle Companion; and from the very little Sleep he required, that he was no haunter of Taverns, nor in the least intemperate either in Meat or Drink. His short *College-Commons* satisfied him: hence it is that he was Continent and Chaste. Tho' about seven Years old

*His Mis-
chance
when 7
years old.*

he had a Mischance (if I may call it so) that seem'd to conspire with his Virtue, and to oblige him to actual Chastity. Being then in his Coats, and taking a Leap from the Walls of *Conway* Town to the Sea-shore, he thought that the Wind (which was then very strong) by swelling out his Coats like a Sail, would bear him up, as it did some of his Play-fellows; but contrary to his Expectation, he fell with some force with his Belly upon a big ragged Stone, which caused an Infirmitie (to use Bishop *Hacket's* Phrase) better understood than farther describ'd. And here I must beg leave to correct an Error about this matter in *Wilson's History of Great Britain*; for he says, That he was assured, that the Bishop was born an Eunuch; so that Dr. *Hacket's* Story before-mention'd deserves more credit, who as being Domestick Chaplain to Bishop *Williams*, might haye a truer Information: Besides I find an Account of it, agreeable to this, in a Pamphlet call'd *The Observator Observ'd*, wrote by *H. Lestrange*, in vindication of his History of *Charles the First*. But take it either way, and it is sufficient to clear him and the Countess

Countess of *Buckingham* from the aspersions of some Historians, and to manifest the malice of Sir *A. W.* the ^{P. 140.} Pamphleteer, who would fain perswade Posterity of the Bishop's great Incontinency.

But his Sobriety, Temperance and *His Pro-
fuseness.* Chastity, are the more commendable; because he was not, as some of narrow Fortunes are, placed quite below the reach of Temptation; had he been so minded, he had wherewithal to humour any Vice: For all his Friends, as well as his Father, allowed him very plentifully. But in truth, tho' their Liberality was great, yet his own was greater; the Stream was larger than the Fountain that supply'd it; so that his Pockets were generally empty, for out it went faster than it came in. It was his humour from his Cradle, and follow'd him to his Grave, to be profuse. He spent all he could get, besides some for which he ran a-tick. Not that I propose him for a Pattern to those of his Age, but therefore I register this small Failing of his, because it may bespeak the Reader's Candour, when he shall hereafter be accus'd of Bribery.

(9.)

One

*An In-
stance of his
Generosity.*

One Instance I have to produce, which discovers in him a charitable, frank and generous Temper; and that so much the more, because what we do when we are Young, and have not learn'd to masque our Inclinations, shews us as we are in our selves. Mr. *Edward Lively* (*Hebrew Professor, and a Worthy Man*) was by hard hap reduc'd to Circumstances so very narrow, that to support himself and his Family, he was put to the sad shift of selling a part of his Library. When Young *Williams* heard of this, he scrap'd hard to get him three pounds together, and when he had compass'd it, he went to Mr. *Lively*, and made him a courteous Offer of it. His necessities pleaded so hard, that he accepted of it; and as the only return of Gratitude he could make, he was not ashamed to tell it abroad, to bring his pretty Benefactor into Repute: and much was it talk'd of to his credit, that so little a Hand should open it self, when large ones were shut; when yet if rightly consider'd, it is but natural: for the longer we live, the stiffer are our Joynts, our Muscles stronger, our Sinews harder, and we ev'ry way fitter for Griping.

But

But to reflect upon our Story ; it would be a nice point to determine, whether of the two parties was the most oblig'd; so free and unexpected was the Bounty of the One, so condescending and so grateful were the acknowledgments of the other. But if we compute our Obligations from the Pleasure and Satisfaction we receive from others, I doubt not but *Williams* was the party indebted.

That so candid a Temper should have Enemies will be no News to any One, that has experienc'd how easily People are disgusted, and how hardly pleas'd; as tho' we made it our Business, who should hoard up in his Lifetime the largest share of Discontent. He was hasty and passionate indeed, and his Heat had chafed a great many; a National Failure it was (and what Nation without some) and very predominant in the *Welsb.* The ill will of others he got by beginning so soon to stickle for the Discipline and Ceremonies of the *Church of England:* and others took a distaste to him, because he was wont to frequent the Reverend Mr. *Perkins's* Congregation : What Reason they had for it, I know not,

The LIFE of ABP. Williams,

not, the Character of Mr. *Perkins* being deliver'd down to us for a Learned, pious, and laborious Preacher, who died Minister of St. *Andrews* Parish in Cambridge.

At the close of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, our Student commenc'd Bachelor of Arts, and within a few Days after on the 14th of April 1603. he was elected into a Foundation Fellowship, for the Diocese of *Bangor*; as appears from the College Register. Yet for all his Merits, he obtain'd not this without the Opposition of some of the *Seniors*, in whose Votes, together with the Master's, the Power of Election by Statute lies. But it seems a Letter from K. *James* did his Bus'ness for him; for Bishop *Hacket* refers to One, wrote by him 22 Years after to his Majesty, acknowledging That his Gracious Letters conferr'd the first Preferment upon him. So that this King, as it happen'd, laid the very Foundation of his future Greatnes, and after built him up to the very Height of it. So true is it, that one Benefit, as well as one Injury, draws on another. And now our Young Graduate being set in a convenient posture for

Stu-

Studying, his next care was how he should make the most of the Three Years that lay betwixt him and his Degree of *Master*: Diligence he concluded was the best Husbandry of Time: and so earnest was he at his Bus'ness, that he had constantly some Work a-going forward. *Greek* and *Hebrew* he ply'd closely, as the best Introduction to Divinity; and in these he had the Assistance of the most Eminent Men at that Time in *Cambridge*. To master *French*, he found it a Task of no great difficulty: He dipt into the Elements of *Geometry*; and found amidst his Bus'ness some leisure hours to soften his severer Studies with *Musick*; in which, both Vocal and Instrumental, he had attain'd to a competent Skill. To all this add, That he perform'd his publick Exercises to that Admiration, that all without the Spirit of Prophecy, concluded he was too active for a Fellowship to hold him long: like a generous and High-metled Steed, that disdains to be bounded by a narrow Inclosure, tho' his Pasture be never so rich and flow'ry. So obvious is it to bespeak the future Success of that Youth, that hath

hath a Constitution proof against Laziness, the very Consumption of a Great Genius, by which it dwindleth away into nothing in a short time. For it is with the Soul of Man as with his Body; give it Nourishment, or it will prey upon it self.

(11.)
Takes the
Degree of
A. M.

In the Year 1605. He went out Master of Arts, and feasted his Friends at the Commencement, after his extravagant rate, (for so I will make bold to call it) being better flush'd with Money, by large Presents from many bountiful Hands, than is usual with our young Graduates. But so it was, his Merits got him Friends, and those Friends furnish'd him with Money. So that his Revenues (and those considerable) lay not in dirty Land, but flow'd in to him like the Tribute of a Monarch, from the Good-will of others. And he got not Friends by his Riches (as most do) but got Riches by his Friends; which very few can.

(12.)
His Me-
thod in Stu-
dying.

Our Student continues still hot in pursuit of his Bus'ness; like a Body set in Motion upon a Descent, which is so far from having the least Inclination to rest, that it gathers fresh Vigour at every Turn. And now he began

began to enter into the deep and spacious Study of *Divinity*; a Field of extent enough for any *Genius*, tho' never so unconfin'd. He began (as he has sometime in his riper Years told Dr. Hacket) to read all the Scriptures with the best *Commentators*. And in his *Common-Places* and *Problems*, he manifested his great Industry, so as to wrest Praise from his *Seniors*, and to merit Thanks from the *Juniors*, whose benefit it is that such Exercises be carefully perform'd. Now he summons all his Vigour, and puts his whole Faculties upon the stretch: For he sets upon Reading the *School-Men, Church History*, and the *Fathers* all together. But how is it possible to methodize such a variety of Studies? Why, every Man has, or ought to have such a Method, as best suits his Capacity; and it seems he had his. 'My Manner
was (says he) to allot one Month to
each of these Employments; and
Variety was almost as much refreshing
as cessation from Labour. This Me-
thod I was constant to for 13 Years,
until I was called off by my Secular
Employments; and when I was dis-
charg'd from them, I fell again to

' run round in my former Circle. Over and above, he was an Exact Philosopher, especially in *Metaphysics*, the Advantage and Use of which he defended publickly in the Schools when he was *Proctor* for the University. His Application to History presupposes his Knowledge in *Chronology* and *Geography*: And I will (says Bishop *Hacket*, a competent Judge) deliver it confidently, that I took him to be the best proficient in Ecclesiastical History of his Age.

His communicative Temper.

(15.)

Ignorance is not so distasteful as a selfish Knowledge, joyn'd with the fear of making others as wise as our selves: and an honest Beggar's Character (we know) stands fairer in the Eye of the World, than that of a tenacious Miser. To possess and yet not to communicate is not the part of a Man, but of the Brute Beast, that has not reason to see the great Advantages of a mutual Benevolence. Our Student, that was in a manner a perfect Store-house of Learning, was open to all: His Temper communicative, and Discourse free. Which was so much the more acceptable, because he was remarkable for his Can-

(16.)

Candour and Moderation, and far from shewing any dislike of a Scholar, that differ'd from him in a Theological Debate. Yet this Moderation of his was called by some Sluggishness, Craftiness, Neutrality, or any thing that might give it a bad Colour. As if the Spirit of Christianity were not consistent with a Disputant, and Rudeness were better at Syllogizing, than found Sense, which is an enemy to Passion: or as tho' (to speak with Bishop *Hacket*) in Points unfundamental and unresolv'd, every Man must be a *Guelph* or a *Gibelline*.

(17.)

I have given you a short Scheme of his Studies, by the Prosecution of Is employ'd
in Business
for his Col-
lege. which he fitted himself for the high Implyments in which we shall find him hereafter. And by his close Application this way too, he began to grow into considerable Repute and Esteem in the College. For, by that time he was 25 Years old, or thereabout, he had the Honour to be employ'd by his Society in some concerns of theirs; by which means upon such occasions, he had admittance Abb. Bancroft takes
Notice of
him. sometimes to speak before Arch-bishop *Bancroft*. And upon this Reverend

B 2

Pre-

Prelate, what with his engaging Wit, and what with his decent Behaviour, he gain'd so far, that two Years before he was *Batchelour of Divinity*, he sent for him, and of his own free Will, gave him the *Adyouzon* of an Arch-Deaconry in *Wales*; *Cardigan*, to the best of Bishop *Hacket's* Remembrance.

*Is sent to
Court by
the Fellows.*

(18.)
*The King
takes No-
tice of him.*

Another time the Master and Fellows, deputed him for their Agent to Court, to petition the King for a *Mort-Main*, thereby to bring an Increase to their Maintenance. In which Suit he sped; as indeed he did in most Undertakings, being of a ready Wit, and almost unwearied Diligence. Here it is worth Observation, the Notice the King took of him then, for there was I know not what in him, which his Majesty lik'd so well, that he told him of it long after, when he came to be his Principal Officer. These Employments were so many lucky Hits, as we may call them, and gave (no doubt) the first occasion to his future Advancement. For we may reason backward thus, and see the disposing Hand in all past Occurrences of Life; but when we come to look forward, the very

very first Object terminates our sight, and we know not *What* will follow *What*; so many different Conclusions can Providence draw from any one Principle, and yet all just and equal.

Thus far have we brought our *His Friend Charge* safe through this troublesome Dr. Playfere dies, and he makes his Funeral Speech. World, and fenc'd off all Misfortunes. But to secure him wholly had been impossible, even for his *Guardian-Angel*.

And the Reader will find he had his share of Troubles. One single One, like a random-shot in Battle, befel him at this Time, which wounded him to the very Soul: It was the Death of his Reverend Friend Dr. *Playfere*, in the Year 1608. This was a heavy Blow indeed for the first, and troubled Mr. *Williams* so much, that when he was requested to grace his Friend's Obsequies with a Speech, he urged his excessive Sorrow in Excuse. But by much importunity, he was at last prevail'd upon, to give that Sorrow a Vent; which he did in such an Eloquent and Moving Manner (as perhaps no Passion has the perswasive Force of Sorrow) that when he ended, and the Assembly brake up, every body said, that *Playfere's* Eloquence sur-

The LIFE of ABP. Williams,

viv'd in his Friend. And he, tho' naturally covetous of a Good Name, yet, I dare say, thought his Reputation now too dearly bought.

*He takes
Orders:*

(19.)
*And the
Charge of
a small
Living.*

Happy and wise too is the Man, that knows how to make the right use of Misfortunes. We must call in the Assistance of *Religion* as well as *Philosophy*, ere we can convert them into Blessings. Thus Mr. *Williams*, after this, grew strangely indifferent to the World in all respects, except it were to be doing good in it. And the better to enable him to this (after humbly imploring the Divine Assistance) he gave himself over intirely to the Service of God, entring into Orders first as Deacon, then as Priest, in the 27 Year of his Life. After this, that he might not lye fallow, and be like the barren Ground, he took the Charge of a small Living, which lay beyond St. Edmund's-Bury, in the confines of Norfolk; Fakenham perhaps, or very near to it. A poor Bus'ness tho' it was, that would hardly defray the cost of his Journeys, yet it took not off his Edge, for it answered the great Ends for which he entred upon it; to teach the Simple, to attain to a readiness in Preach-

Preaching, and to be acquainted with Compassion (as he us'd to say) towards the hard Condition which his poor Brethren did undergo, that had scarce enough to feed and keep them warm, for all their Labour. It seems he had a Liking for the People; for in his highest Honour, I heard him (says Bishop *Hacket*) treating with Sir *Lionel Talmach*, to employ an hundred pound for him, to buy Land for the Relief of the Poor of that Village for ever.

In a poor Countrey Vicaridge he ^{Preaches at} was to condescend to the Capacity of ^{St. Mary's} in Cambr. his People, least he might be to them as a sounding Brass, or a tinkling Cymbal. But at St. Mary's in Cambridge, where he had a Learned Auditory, our Preacher shew'd his great Skill Anno 1610, in a Discourse upon *Luc. 16, 22*. And ^{And before} about eight Months after, being listed ^{the King at} Royston. into the Combination of the choicest Preachers, he was called upon Duty, before King *James* and Prince *Henry* at *Royston*; where he acquitted himself so well, that his Majesty was pleased to speak much in his Commendation; and the Prince not content to let him go off with hungry Praise, looking upon him as an Honour to *Wales*,

assured him, that he would not be unmindful of his great Merits. But he dying untimely (if there be such a thing as an untimely Death) the Father bestow'd that Preferment on him, which the Son intended.

Lord Egerton takes him into his Service.

The Fame of our accomplish'd Preacher came at last to the Ears of the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*. And he wanted not Friends in that Family to recommend him; to whose Requests the Chancellor only reply'd, *Send for him, and let me have him*. This was at *Midsummer*, in the Year 1611. But when he came to *London* to wait upon his Lordship, after great and humble Acknowledgments of the Honour done him, he intreated, that he might have his Lordship's Consent, to continue one whole Year, or the greatest part of it, at *Cambridge*; because he was at *Michaelmas* following to be *Proctor* for the University, a Place of great Trust and Credit, and some Profit. At this the Chancellor asks him, if his place might not be supply'd by a Deputy? 'My Lord (replies the Ch-plain) I must take an Oath upon my Admission into that Office, to oversee the Government intrusted to me, not in

'in general Terms only of Faith and
'Diligence, but for the due Provision
'of many particular Branches of the
'Statutes; and I dare not trust my
'Oath with another Man's Conscience.
And he must be a hardy fellow, that
dares, since every Man at long Run,
is like to answer for himself. Who
could refuse so fair a Plea? So he returns
to *Cambridge*, where I must shew him
in his Honour of *Proctorship*, before I
proceed any farther with him.

His Reply to the Chancellor shews *is Proctor*
what strict Notions he had of the *in Cambr.*
Greatness of his Charge; and he was
too Honest to act short of his Con-
science. To instance only in the
Principal Duties of his Office; What
care did he take to have the Publick
Exercises duly perform'd? Insomuch
that at the Afternoon Disputations of
the *Under-Graduates*, he would mo-
derate himself; by which means he
had an opportunity to encourage the
Hopeful and Deserving, inflaming
some with his Praises, and inciting
others with Rewards: for he was al-
ways free of his Money, but especially
upon such like Occasions. The *Night-*
Walks indeed he committed sometimes

to others; but he perceiv'd there never went more Authority with the *Staff*, than when he bore it himself. Tho' he reclaim'd several from their loose Courses, yet was he remarkable in this, that he never stigmatiz'd any one with a hard Censure. He knew very well that Affableness, Sweetness and soft Perswasions were more irresistible than Threats; as dealing with Scholars, and not Peasants. And it is but want of Discretion, to think when we are in Office, we may talk big by Authority, and lord it over Gentlemen of a Liberal Education, who have no Notion of Slavery, except it be to condemn it.

*The Duke
of Witten-
berg comes
to Cambr.*

Next to a conscientious discharge of one's Office, nothing so much credits an Officer, as when some remarkable occurrences happen during his Office. And two very signal ones gave our *Proctor* a very fair opportunity of shewing himself. Soon after *Christmas*, his Majesty sent his Commands to the *Heads* of the *University*, to give Entertainment, such as might be made ready out of hand, to the Duke of *Wittenberg*, and his Train. The Duke himself was a Learned Prince;

Prince: And it was therefore thought most suitable to entertain him with Philosophick Disputations; and so it was determin'd. Mr. *Proctor*, he sate as *Moderator*, and managed the Bus'ness with all the Skill and good Address imaginable. For, to compliment the Prince, he back'd all his Reasons with Quotations from *Julius Pacius*, *Go-*<sup>Is very
clenius</sup>
Keckerman and others, that had been Professors within the *German* <sup>much ta-
ken with
Mr. Wil-
liams.</sup> Principalities. Which was so highly acceptable to the Duke of *Wittenberg* and his Retinue, that they would not part with Mr. *Williams* from their Company, so long as they continued in *Cambridge*; and when they went away for *New-Market*, they took him along with them. So much is the manner of acting in all we do, and the right suiting of Things and Circumstances: which to perform free and unconstrain'd, is the Talent only of a ready Wit, and a found Judgment; two important Qualifications, and rarely to be found in one and the same Person,

The next Passage is of another stamp, *The King*
having more of the States-man, than *displeas'd
at the Uni-*
the Scholar in it. The Earl of *Salisbury*, *versity,*
Lord

Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of Cambridge dying, May 24 An. 1612. In the Regent House, the Masters of Arts it seems could not agree in the Choice of one to succeed him. The Majority gave their Voices for Henry Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy-Seal: T'other Party, that did not like him, they put up against him the King's Second Son, Charles Duke of York, tho' then but 12 Years old. At this the King was highly displeas'd, that they durst nominate his Son to any Place, before they had humbly crav'd his Royal Assent. And the Lord Privy-Seal, the Chancellor Elect (perceiving himself slighted) shrunk up his shoulders, and made Answer, *That he was not worthy the Honour they design'd him;* as who should say in plain English, *I storn your Proffer.* Upon this, the Heads (considering that the Wrath of a Prince is not like that of a Private Man, to be quench'd by Delay) dispatch away *Proctor Williams* (who tho' he was but the *Junior Proctor*, yet was imploy'd) to present himself with their Letters before the King, now in the Height of his Displeasure. So he came to the Court at Greenwich, and falling upon

*Mr. Williams sent
to appease
the King.*

upon his Knees before his Majesty, the King, with no pleas'd Countenance, demanded what his Bus'ness was. 'Sir (says he) My self and They who sent me, crave Justice of your Majesty, in behalf of your University of Cambridge, which suffers under your Displeasure, in that sort as I believe never any of your Subjects did before; that Nineteen Parts of a Great Incorporation should be condemn'd for the Frowardness (and that unpreventable by all the Power we had) of the Twentieth part, and they the meanest of us all. We beseech you, Gracious Sovereign, to name a Chancellor to preside over us, or suffer us to come to your Majesty upon all Occasions, as unto our Chancellor; not made so by the Suffrage of poor Scholars (you are far above that) but in the Sublime Title of your Kingly Office, by which you are oblig'd to protect all your People that are unprotected. The Speech ended, the King gave the Petitioner his Hand to kiss; saying, He would pardon all that was past. So merciful was the King, and so perswasive was the humble Address of the Proctor.

More-

Obtains his
Suit.

(22.)

Moreover, he added, That they themselves should have Power to choose their own Chancellor; for he would not rob them of their Right of Free-Election: that his farther Pleasure should be signified in his Letters, which came to Cambridge the same Day the Proctor did; and being open'd, the Orders were, *That they should forthwith call a Congregation, and resume an Election for a new Chancellor, and that his Majesty would constrain him to hold it, whoever it were, that the Congregation agreed upon.* Still the Heads continued in a Doubt what to do, because the King was not more particular: And here it far'd with Mr. Williams as it usually does with all that are employ'd upon any Bus'ness; for they blam'd him for not sounding the matter to the Bottom. But he, whose Wit was always true to him at a pinch, warded off their unreasonable Displeasure; by gathering much from a small Hint, which is the very Perfection of Policy. Certainly (says he) there is one Clause in the Royal Letters, that plainly determines our Votes; for no One hath declared a flat Refusal of this Place, but the Earl of Northampton:

*Explains
the King's
Letters to
the Heads
of the Uni-
versity.*

pton: Therefore no One else can be meant in this Passage, *That whomsoever we choose, the King will constrain him to hold it.* This Intricacy so happily unfolded, the Lord Privy-Seal was chosen. And the King confess'd they had nick'd his secret Meaning: yet not They, but Mr. Proctor; which deservedly gain'd him a deal of Credit.

There is one thing more which happen'd during his Office; but whether to his Praife or Dispraise, I cannot readily tell. A mixt Action it was, and discovers a great Beauty, shaded with a Blemish, like the Sun in an Eclipse. Dr. Clayton the Master of St. John's College dying, Dr. Morton (then Dean of Windsor, and afterward Bishop of Durham) and Mr. Gwin (one of the Senior Fellows) put in for the Mastership. Now Dr. Morton was a Man incomparable every way, and not only beyond Mr. Gwin, but almost all of his Time, for Piety and Learning. But for all this, his Interest amongst the Fellows (who all when they are Masters of Arts by Statute have a Vote in the Election of a Master) was but small in comparison to Mr. Gwin's; and so much the less considerably, because

Dr. Gwin
made Ma-
ster of Sr.
John's Col-
lege by the
Interest of
Mr. Wil-
liams.

Mr.

Mr. *Williams* appear'd against him.
And as he was courting his Friends
for Mr. *Gwin*, amongst others, he made
suit to one Mr. *Senhouse* (afterward
Bishop of *Carlisle*) who gave him this
civil Denial: *Sir, if you desire my Voice*
to confer the Mastership upon your self,
I will not deny you. I know you, tho'
a young Man, right worthy of it; but
your Tutor shall never have my Suffrage,
while I can say No. But yet Mr. *Wil-*
liams prevail'd so far with his Interest,
that Mr. *Gwin*, who had formerly been
his Tutor, was made Master. To ex-
cuse this is more than I can do; and
there is but one way by which I can
account for his Error, how a Man of
his clear Judgment should fall into it.
He was High-spirited almost to a Fault;
and such Tempers (we know) are at
best but very uneasie, when any One
is before-hand with them in Obliga-
tions. And, no doubt, as a Pupil he
thought in all Reason he ought not
to be unmindful of his Tutor at such
a Time. I need say no more, lest I
prevent my Reader's Reflection: But
this let me add, When Gratitude and
Justice take contrary sides, doubtless
in a generous Breast, the Conflict must
needs

needs be very sharp. After he had given *He repents* a Helping-hand to set Mr. *Gwin* over *it after*. this Great Society, his Fortunes carried him from *College*; but he heard so much, that he was soon out of conceit with his own Work. For, there was at that time a medling Fellow (Mr. *Gwin* loving his Ease) who monopoliz'd the whole Rule of the *College*, and imbroil'd matters at such a strange rate, that all Mr. *Williams* could do when he knew of this, was to repent heartily for what he had done. And he that will set himself out of the Power of his own Actions, and prevent all After-reckonings, had need be very cautious how he makes a *Compliment* of his *Conscience*.

Now the *Commencement* drew on. *As splendid Commencement at Cambr.* And the *Senior Proctor* either never having any polite Learning, or having outgrown what he had; the *Junior* was pitch'd upon to be the *Father of the Act*, as we call it. This *Commencement* (says Bishop *Hacket*) was as gay and full of Pomp, by the great Concourse of Nobles and Gentlemen, as ever I saw; most part of which the Acquaintance and Fame of the *Proctor* drew thither. All these he had the

*The Pro-
ctor's Li-
berality.*

Honour (as is usual for the *Proctor*) to treat; which he did, not liberally, but profusely. For it was his Temper to be always at perfect enmity with Parsimony. It would have made you smile, to hear the *Prevaricator* in his jocular way, give him his Title and Character to his Face; *Titus Largius primus Dictator Romanorum*. I do not commend him for this Quality of his. It was excess of Generosity in him, to think Frugality was but a clownish Vertue at the best: tho' if ever Prodigality appears with a good Grace, it is certainly upon such publick Occasions.

(24.)

So now the Year, and the Bus'ness of it is over; and he returns to Chancellor *Egerton*. Yet before I settle him there for good and all, I must fetch him back once again. The King's only Daughter, the Princess *Elizabeth* being married to *Frederick Prince Palatine*, and Chief *Elector* of the Empire, upon *Valentine's Day*, being the Fourteenth of *February 1612.* after the Celebration of the Nuptials was over at Court, the King had a mind, that his Son-in-law the *Elector* should be receiv'd with an Academical

*The Pal-
grave
comes to
Cambr.*

*Stow
Chron.*

demical Entertainment at Cambridge. Notice being given to Dr. Carew the Vice-Chancellor, he with the Sages of the Consistory concluded, there should be a kind of Commencement Extraordinary. At this Time Mr. Williams had not been above 7 Months absent, so that being still fresh in the memory, and high in the good Opinion of the Doctors, he was pitch'd upon for one to oppose upon the *Theological Questions*. Mr. Williams sent for to assist in his Examination. Commences T.B. Down they send for him out of hand: and that he might be duly qualified for an *Opponent*, they make him in all haste commence Bachelor in Divinity. The Questions, which he gave in to defend for his Degree were, 1. *Peccata semel remissa nunquam redeunt*: 2. *Qui sacros Ordines suscepserunt, famulari possunt Magnatibus ut fructus Ecclesiasticos percipient*. In responding to which (in a manner *extempore*) he shew'd at once the Soundness of his Judgment, and the vast Compass of his Learning. But in the Opponent's Place, upon the Day appointed, on Mar. 13. 1612. he acquitted himself manfully, to the great Satisfaction of the Noble Assembly, and the very

*Returns to
Lord Eger-
ton.*

great Honour of the University. This done, he retired to his Home; for so I must now call the Lord Chancellor's Family. And thus I have brought him safe to the end of the first Stage of his Life: which was in a manner publickly lead, tho' in a private Capacity: For to conceal himself absolutely was more than he could do.

The End of the First Part.

From



From the Time he settled in
Chancellor Egerton's Fa-
mily, till the End of King
James's Reign,

PART II.

THE former Part has shew'd you *Mr. Williams* from his Child-hood to his Manhood: how hopeful he was in his Youth; and how afterwards those Hopes exceeded what they seem'd to promise: how able he became in Learning; and how creditable and useful a Member he was of his College in particular, and of the whole University in general. I come in the next place to consider him as a rising Man in the World; how he made his Fortunes (as we ungratefully express our selves, when all the while it is the *Lord's Doing*) and how he behav'd himself in them after.

C 3

And

And that we may not confound Characters, I shall first give you an Account of him as a Statesman, and as concerned in Civil Affairs during his Prosperity, omitting for the present all that might belong to him as a Clergy Man.

*The means
by which
he gained
Lord Eger-
ton's Fa-
vour.*

(27.)

Now or never was his time to look about him. For he had a very fair Opportunity given him, by entring into the Service of so considerable a Man as the Chancellor was, with the Assistance of Providence to raise himself; at leastwise to make some Efforts towards it. Therefore as a prudent Man, the first thing he cast in his Mind, was how he might ingratiate himself in the Family; but especially in his Lord's Favour, who he knew was able to reward him. There were at that time in the Family a great many Ladies, and those of Quality, to whom his Address and Behaviour, as well as his Garb, was more courtly than is usual with Scholars. He receiv'd all Strangers with great Courtesie and Civility. And if any Disorders happen'd amongst the Servants, he interpos'd with the Gravity of a Divine. Thus he had gain'd the Out-works; and

and thus far an indifferent Artist might have gone. But to make One's self acceptable to a Man of the Chancellor's Gravity and Judgment, shews something of the like Worth in One's self: So apt are we to be taken with our own Resemblance. The Chaplain therefore approv'd himself to his Lord, not only by his good Preaching, but likewise by the sharp and solid Answers he made to such Questions as were cast in by the By at Table, to fathom his Learning and Judgment. For to take a Man unprepar'd and off his Guard, even in little matters, tries his Strength more, than a formal Dispute does, where Warning is given: As, we know, *Bills upon sight* are never drawn (at least to any purpose) but upon the ablest Men. But what recommended him more than all this was, that he understood the References and Petitions, that were sent to his Lord from *Oxford*, better then all his Servants, being newly come from *Cambridge*: And his Opinion was so constantly taken in all those Complaints, that Dr. King (the Bishop of *London*) would sometimes pleasantly call him the Chancellor of *Oxford*. To this,

he wars stor'd with Friends in the Courts of the King and Prince, from whom he gather'd Intelligence worth his Master's hearing; no *blind Rumours*, but *Clouds*, that at first rising were scarce so big as an Hand, yet portending mighty Tempests as they fell. Lastly, to make him every way acceptable to his Lord, he had pick'd up some Gleanings (in his own modest words) in the Knowledge of the Common-Laws of the Realm. In this the Chancellor gave him Incouragement to proceed; and was so taken with him, that at his leisure hours, both to divert himself and instruct his Chaplain he would impart to him the Narration of some important Causes, that had been debated in *Chancery* or *Star-Chamber*. So fortunate was Mr. Williams to fall under such a Tutor as instructed him in that Bus'ness, to which it pleas'd God after to call him. But neither did he for all this neglect his Studies as a Divine: and Resolution and Diligence carried him through all.

(29.)
He encou-
rages Me-
rit, and de-
fends the
injured
Clergy.

And now he was so far in his Lord's Favour, that he was able by his Interest to procure several Livings that fell

fell into the Chancellor's Presentation, for such as he knew to be able and deserving Scholars; so early did he patronize Merit. And he gave farther Evidences yet of his publick Spirit, when swarms of Scholars came about him, such as were harass'd with tedious and chargeable Law-Suits. If their Cause were good, or if it had a Flaw in it, he would point it out; would shew them where lay the Strength, and where the Weakness; would commend them to faithful Attorneys and able Counsel, work the Officers to an Abatement of Fees, and supply them with Money that wanted it. Especially if the Cause concern'd the Title of their Living, or the payment of their Tithes, he would sweat and bestir himself for his poor Brethren to the utmost of his Vigour. So that under his Lord and Master, he was a zealous and successful Abettor of the Rights of the Clergy in general.

To study the Interest of others so earnestly as wholly to neglect our own, may rather be call'd Simplicity than *Makes his own Interest,*
so that the Lord Egerton prefers him.
Honesty; and might sound prettily in a Romance, where Honour is Meat, Drink and Cloathing. But certainly, as the World goes, to trust to the Generosity

sity of others when we may befriend our selves, is more than is requir'd at our Hands, and much more than Prudence will account for. Therefore Mr. *Williams*, tho' very mindful of others, was not at the same time unmindful of himself; but grounded himself so deep in his Lordship's Affections, that in about five Years Time (which he liv'd with him) he rais'd himself a plentiful Fortune by the Assistance of that Bounty, which was so far from denying him any thing, that it commonly prevented his Requests; the Politick way of enhancing a Benefit without cost: for a modest and generous Person thinks he pays dear for what he is forced to ask for. But, to be particular, his Patron gave him the Parsonage of *Walgrave* in *Northamptonshire*, and by his Interest got him the Rectory of *Grafton Under-wood*, in the same County. He was a Prebendary of the Church of *Lincoln*, and Residentiary, with the Chantorship of the same; he had a Prebend too in the Minster of *Peterborough*, and in the Churches of *Hereford* and *St. David's*: and to these, the Chancellor gave him a *Sine-Cure* in *Wales*, equal in profits to any of his other
(30.)

other Preferments. By this time I expect my Reader should cry out, Bless me! what a Glut of Preferment is here for one Man! So jealous are we of our own Interest. But when Plenty falls into the possession of a free Heart, 'tis a great Mistake to think we are injur'd, and that too much flows to One. Do we grudge the Sea all those almost infinite Waters, that are perpetually emptying themselves into it? And the reason is, because we know they lye safe there, as in a common Store-house, ready to supply all places that may want. And what Riches fall into a publick Hand, are not his alone, but Every-body's; and all that is proper to him is the great Satisfaction only of Distribution.

In the Year 1616. in *October*, the *Lord Eger-*
Lord Chancellor, worn out, what with ^{ton falls} sick.
the multitude of Bus'ness, and what
with Age, began to decline. And
in *January* his Weakness prevail'd
more, insomuch that from that time
he admitted scarce any Company,
but his Chaplain's. What Bus'ness
he had with his Majesty, was com-
mitted to his Trust and Management:

a very considerable Opportunity, which doubtless Mr. *Williams* improv'd to his own Advantage. The King could not but take Notice of him as often as he brought any Messages to him from his Master: and to be intrusted by so discreet a Man with Secrets of State, was no small Credit to him. And his Majesty thought, that living so long with so great a Statesman, he could not choose but gain considerable Experience himself in such Affairs. These things put together, and added to some advantagious *Hints*, tending this way before, shew like so many *Incidents* well prepar'd, to render his following Advancement more probable: from which the Reader will be able to see, by what Degrees his good Fortune usher'd him into the Court, and at last rais'd him to the greatest Dignities.

Dies.

Wilson.
Hist. Gr.
Brit. p. 97.

On the Fifteenth of *March*, his Great and Good Patron dy'd in a *Good Old Age, and full of Virtuous Fame*. His Chaplain mourn'd for him long after, and attended his Body to *Cheshire*, where he buried him in a Chappel with his Ancestors.

A

A little before the Day of his Death, the Chancellor call'd Mr. *Williams*, and told him, *That if he wanted Money, he would leave him such a Legacy in his Will, as should furnish him to begin the World like a Gentleman.* Sir (says the Chaplain) *I kiss your Hands; you have fill'd my Cup full; I am far from want, unless it be of your Lordship's Directions how to live in the World, if I survive you.* Well (says the Chancellor) *I know you are an expert Workman; take these Tools to work with, they are the best I have.* So he gave him some Books and Papers written all with his own Hand.

Dr. *Hacket* says, he saw the Notes; and that they were that old Sage's Collections for the well Ordering the High Court of Parliament, the Court of Chancery, the Star-Chamber, and the Council-Board. So that he had a good Stock to set up with; insomuch that Dr. *Hacket* does not doubt but that the Marrow of Mr. *Williams* his Politicks, was drawn from the Lord Egerton's Papers.

The Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, when he grew weak, had desir'd Leave of his Majesty, to retire, and to have time

(31.)
He gave
him four
Books (says
Da. Lloyd,
in his Life
of the A.B.P)
which he
presented
after to the
King.

Cabal. pag.
236.
Wilson
Hist. Gr.
Brit. p. 97.

*Sir Fr. Bacon made
L. Keeper.*

time to see how Accounts stood between God and himself. Which being granted him, the Great Seal of *England* was next deliver'd to Sir *Francis Bacon*, on the Seventh of *March* (according to *Stow*) *An. 1616*. He hearing that Mr. *Williams*, after the Death of his Master, was preparing to go to his Cure at *Walgrave*, he made him a very civil Offer to continue with him in that Place, wherein he had serv'd the Lord *Egerton* before. He declin'd it tho', but in such an artful and obliging manner, that *Bacon* did not at all resent it; for they parted very good Friends; and Sir *Francis* willing to set a Mark of his Favour upon him, made him Justice of the Peace and of the *Quorum* in *Northamptonshire*. What should be the reason, why Mr. *Williams*, a Man that lov'd to be in the Eye of the Publick, should refuse this Offer, I cann't imagine. Whether he were tired of the City, or whether he saw so far into *Bacon*, as that he was not like to continue long undisgrac'd; or lastly, whether his better *Genius* prompted him: For, 'tis very likely, had he been his Chaplain, he would hardly have succeeded

*Mr. Williams re-
fuses to be
his Chap-
lain.*

ceeded him in his Office, tho' he might; at least so creditably he could not: Because the World, that ever searches deep into the worst side of things, would have been apt to cry out, that the Servant had undermin'd his Lord.

At this time by the Interest of his very good Friend Dr. *James Montagu* (after Bishop of *Winton*) he was made ^{Is made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King.} Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, attending Yearly at Court in *February*. And he had his Majesty's Orders to wait upon him in his Great *Northern Progress*, which was to begin in *April* following: And the King told him pleasantly, *That he might expect the Labourers Penny as soon as they that had serv'd him longer.* But the Bishop of *Winchester* obtain'd of his Majesty, that Mr. *Williams* might stay behind, to take his Doctor's Degree, and to give fit entertainment to *Marcus Antonius de Dominis* Archbishop of *Spalato*, who was newly come over into *England*, and did design to be at *Cambridge Commencement*, in the next *July*. Here again we may see how Fortune seem'd to Compliment Mr. *Williams* with an Opportunity of shewing himself: And he never was to appear any way

(32.)
Takes his
Doctors
Degree.

(32.)

way publickly at *Cambridge*, but still he brought something about luckily to add to the Splendour of his Performance. So at this *Commencement* in the Year 1617. he was created Doctor. The Questions which he maintain'd for his Degree were, 1. *Supremus Magistratus non est excommunicabilis.* 2. *Subduictio Calicis est mutilatio Sacramenti & Sacerdotii.* You will, I make no doubt, prevent me here, and guess that his Treat (as is the Custom of the University upon such occasions) was very costly and sumptuous: but one piece of Address I must not forget; how that the Doctor was at no little cost and pains in sending to the *Italian* Ordinaries at *London*, and ransacking the Merchants Stores, for such Delicacies as he thought would relish best with the Archbishop of *Spalato*: which Dainties it was observ'd that he never took any Notice of, but preferr'd our *English* Dishes to them.

Retires to
Walgrave.

And now Dr. *Williams* having acquitted himself honourably both as to his *Act*, and to the Entertainment he gave to the Archbishop; he retired chearfully to his Rectory of *Walgrave*. How he lived, and what he did there,

I shall forbear to mention, till I come to speak of him as a Clergy-man. So that at present I will not break the Thread of my Narration, but go on with him directly in his growing Fortunes, till the End of King James's Reign.

In the Year 1619. he preach'd before the King at *Theobalds*; his Text taken out of *Matth. 11. 8.* His Majesty approving of the Sermon, commanded it to be printed. So that by several Offices and frequent Opportunities, he had now gain'd his Majesty's good Liking. During the time he was at *Walgrave*, the Deanery of *Salisbury* fell by the Death of Dr. *Gordon*, while the King was in his Summer's Progress in the *West*. A great many stirr'd for it; and for one of the Competitors, and a deserving Scholar too, the Marquess of *Buckingham* us'd his Interest; but the King putting them all by, sent for Dr. *Williams*, who could not be heard of in a fortnight, keeping then his Residence at *Lincoln*, remote from Court. This was the first piece of Preferment for which he was not beholding to any, saving the King's own Pleasure; for he had not at that time

D so

(35.)
*Preaches
before the
King at
Theobalds*

(36.)

*Is made
Dean of
Salisbury.*

so much as a Friend to intercede for him; Death having rob'd him of Dr. *Montagu*, the only Man about his Majesty that he depended upon.

Thus we have pass'd over the Beginning or Dawning (as we may call it) of his good Fortune; and he is (you see) in a very likely way of *Doing well*, as we say when a Man thrives in the World; as tho' Prosperity and Probity were one and the same. Tho' Dr. *Williams* was now in great Favour with his Majesty, and he lov'd him better than even the Lord *Egerton* had done; yet if he had any Designs of advancing himself, it must be effected by that Grand Favourite the Marques of *Buckingham*, or not at all. No Man can be so ignorant of the History of those Times, as not to know that he over-rul'd all the King's Affections, and dispos'd of all things for him, even to his very Smiles and his Frowns.

(41.)

It fell out one time, that the Dr. was at *Royton*, attending upon his Majesty, in the Absence of the Marques. The King abruptly (without any relation to the Discourse then in hand) ask'd him, when he was with *Buckingham*? Sir (says the Dr.) I have had

no

(38.)
Bucking-
ham the
King's Fa-
vourite.

no Bus'ness to resort to his Lordship: But (replies the King) wheresoever he is, you must presently go to him on my Message. Which he did accordingly; and the Marquess receiving him courteously, invited him with all Affability to come freely to him upon his own Addresses. He gathering from the Hint Williams his Majesty gave him, that he intended ^{applies} he should seek the Marquess, and do ^{himself to him:} all he could to gain him by all Observance, from thenceforth resolv'd it.

But why must the Dr. be prompted by the King to seek his own Interest? Were not his Eyes open at that time ^{His Rea-} of Day, and could he not see plainly, ^{sons why he did it not before.} without having it pointed out to him, that *Buckingham* was the King's Darling? Or did he know all this, but yet wanted Ambition to climb? No; Dr. Williams was a Man, tho' bold and aspiring, yet cautious withall: and you shall hear what dissuaded him from courting the Marquess. One time (says Bishop Hacket) making a Repetition (39.) of his former Life to me, when he was under a great Sickness at Bugden, he gave me two Reasons, why he mov'd so slow to the Protection of that great Lord. First, he mightily suspected his

continuance; the Title of a Favourite being so inauspicious in almost all Examples. And to whom a Man is oblig'd for his Rising, it is expected he should follow his Fortunes, be they good or bad: at least every grateful and generous Spirit will think himself oblig'd to do so. Secondly; he saw his Lordship was very apt to cast a Cloud suddenly upon his Creatures; and rais'd them, as it were, on purpose to have the Pleasure of casting them down after. And from these two weighty Considerations he concluded to give way to others, to seek the Marques, that might be rash enough to venture. And happy sure had it been for him, had the King's Encouragement never diverted him from his own prudent Resolutions; for it led him through much Prosperity to a great deal of Adversity, and Misery in the End. So true is it, That in any thing we undertake, we cannot so much as guess what will be the final Issue of it: and the safest way the most prudent Man can take, to establish his Happiness (like the wise Man's House upon the Rock) is, after his own honest Endeavours, to be very well content to leave

leave the Determining cast to the All-wise Disposal of Providence: so much of the Stoick ought every *Christian* to have.

But to proceed: It happen'd well (41.)
for him at this time to shew his Services, that the Marques^s courted the Lady *Katherine Manners*, Daughter Bucking-
ham courts
Kat. Man-
ners.
Francis Earl of Rutland. *Wilson* gives us this Account of the Matter: *Buckingham* History of Gr. Brit. p. 149.
(who was a general Lover) tempts the Earl's only Daughter, carries her to his Lodgings in *Whitehall*, keeps her there for some time, and then returns her again to her Father: At this the stout old Earl resolves upon Revenge, except he would marry his Daughter, to save her injur'd Honour. *Buckingham* (that perhaps made it his Design to get the Father's Consent this way, she being the greatest Match in the Kingdom) marries her; after which she was converted to our Church by Dr. *White*: Thus he. Which in the former part of the Story seems to have something of Truth; if compar'd with Bishop *Hacket*'s Relation. Which is, That the motion being set on foot in the beginning of the Year 1620. was

*Dr. Williams for-
wards the
Match.*

(42.)

retarded, by reason of an Affront the Earl took, in thinking that the lusty Woer made his Advances too fast. But however it was, the Earl (it seems) was angry, and the Duke, he had a mind to the Lady. Therefore Dr. Williams took the Opportunity to go between the great Men, to set matters straight on both sides. Now the Earl had a good Opinion of the Dr. for some former Services, and was therefore willing to admit him to discourse the Point fairly. To cut it short, the Dr. brought the Earl about so dextrously with his Art and pleasant Wit, that his Lordship put it into his Hands to draw up all Contract and Conditions for Portion and Jointure. And now the Earl being open-hearted with the Joy and Transport of a good Understanding between him and the Marques; the Dr. nicks the Opportunity, and prevails upon him to settle more upon the Marriage, than the Marques and his Mother had demanded. Now the Parties were agreed, his Majesty put in his Objection, which must be answer'd, before he would give his Consent. The Lady Katherine had been bred a Papist; and he thought he

he could not be too cautious, as times went, how his great Favourite wedded with one of that Perswasion, lest it should raise Jealousies amongst his People. Therefore the King lays his Commands upon Dr. *Williams* to convert her, or no Wedding should be by his Consent. The Dr. undertakes and performs the Task: so that on the

*Converts
the Lady:
and writes
a little
Treatise to
confirm
her.*

16th of May 1620. the Nuptials were celebrated. And the Negotiation of this Match (says Bishop *Hacket*) the Negotiator told me, was the last Key-Stone, that made the Arch in his Pre-ferment. But lest this new Convert should slide back into her former Errors, the King orders Dr. *Williams* to draw up the Elements of Orthodox Religion in a litle Manual for her use; which accordingly he did, and just Twenty Copies were printed with no Name, only *By an old Prebend of Windsor*. The following Letter (since one of the Copies is not easie to be had) sent to the Marques with the Book, will be sufficient to inform the Curious of his Method and Design in that little Piece.

(43.)

D 4

My

My most Noble Lord,

*His Letter
to the Mar-
quis sent
with the
Treatise,*

MY most humble Duty and all
 due Respects remember'd; I
 have at last, according to his Maje-
 sty's Intimation and your Lordship's,
 made up for my Lady's private use
 a little Stock, as it were, in Divinity,
 and divided the same into Three small
 Treatises. The First, to furnish her
 how to speak unto GOD by Invoca-
 tion: the Second, how to speak unto
 her self by Meditation: and the
 Third, how to speak unto those Ro-
 manists, that shall oppose her, by way
 of Answer, and Satisfaction. Prayers
 are the most necessary for the obtain-
 ing, Principles for the augmenting, and
 Resolutions (in these Days) for the
 defending of her Faith and Profession.
 I held these Three in some fort (and
 more I held not) to have been ne-
 cessary. The Prayers I have trans-
 lated from Ancient Writers, that her
 Ladiship may see, we have not coin'd
 a new Worship or Service of GOD.
 Of the rest, I receiv'd my best
 Grounds from his Majesty, and such
 as, I protest faithfully, I never could
 read the like in any Author for my
 own

own Satisfaction. If I be out in my
Descant upon them, I hope your
Lordship will the rather pardon it,
because the Book is but private,
whereof 20 Copies only are printed,
and as many of them to be suppress'd
as your Honour shall not command
and use. I make bold to send these
Books to your Lordship, because I
hope they will be more welcome and
acceptable to both the great Ladies,
coming immediately from your Ho-
nour, I humbly thank your Ho-
nour for affording me this Occasion,
to do your Lordship any little Ser-
vice, who am in all affectionate Prayers
and best Devotion

*Your Honour's true Creature
and Beadsmen,*

JOHN WILLIAMS.

*From your College at Westminster
the 28. of Novemb. 1620.*

By the Date of this Letter, you may *Is made*
understand (which I had forgot to tell *Dean of*
Westminster you before) he was by this time made *ster.*
Dean of Westminster. It was on the (44.)
12th of July 1620. that he was *Install'd*;

the Marques's bestowing it upon him,
who at that time was Patron of it,
whom the Doctor solicited for it, by the
following Letter, dated *Mar. 12. 1619.*

My most Noble Lord,

*His Letter
to petition
for the
Deanery.*

I Am an humble Suitor; first, to be
'acknowledg'd your Servant; and
then, that I may be nearer and better
able to perform my Desires, to be by
your happy Hand transplanted from
Salisbury to Westminster, if that Deane-
ry shall prove vacant. I trouble not
your Honour for Profit, but only for
Conveniency; for being unmarried,
and inclining so to continue, I do find
that *Westminster* is fitter by much for
that Disposition: and mine own, no-
thing inferior in Value, will be at his
Majesty's Collation. If your Ho-
nour be not bent upon an ancienter
Servant, I beseech you think upon
me. I am true, and so reputed by
my former, and by the Grace of GOD
will prove no otherwise, to my Second
Master. GOD in Heaven bless you as
he hath begun: he pray'sit, who is

*Your Honour's poor Beadsman al-
ready ever bound,* J. W.
His

His Removal into this Deanery was *This Pre-*
the truest Step he had taken as yet: *ferment*
For within a Year after, the Lodgings *lucky to*
him. of the Dean became the House of the (47.)
Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and
the Palace of the Bishop of *Lincoln.* Now the Scene fills, and the *Plot*
thickens apace, (to speak with our
Play-wrights, since I am representing
a Life) *Incidents* begin to turn thick
upon one another, and we shall soon
launch him into such an Ocean of Bu-
siness, that it will be difficult for us to
carry on our Story, without being lost
in Confusion. But yet, why may not
we relate as methodically and clearly
as he acted, notwithstanding the mul-
tiplicity of Affairs with which he was
surrounded, but not incumber'd? The
Occasion of his sudden Rising af-
forded ample Matter for Wonder, be-
cause known but to few. And for an
Introduction, to clear the way to my
Reader, I must touch at some Passages
in those Times, which are sufficiently
known to every one.

The Parliament held in the Year (48.)
1613. and the King could by no means
hit it. They clamour'd against his Ma-
jesty, and buzz'd it about in the Ears
of

*K. calls a
Parlia-
ment An.
1620.*

(49.)

*They re-
dress Gri-
evances.*

of the People, That his Majesty wink'd at the Increase of *Popery*: upon this, the K. in a disgust dissolves them, and desir'd no more of their Company for 7 Years after. At last, what with the want of Money and other Reasons of State pressing, he resolves to try them once more; and so on the 30th of Jan. 1620: he with the Lords and Commons met in the High Court of Parliament. Their Demeanour to his Majesty was (as beseem'd Subjects) dutiful and full of Respect. But they were resolv'd to fall foul upon some Persons, who, they thought, had more regard in their Practices to their own private Interest, than to the common Good of the People. It seems the Lord Marquess and the Chancellor were both at this time in Fault; the one by interceding for, and the other by granting Commissions for Monopolies, and other Grievances. The Appeals of the Subject for Justice were very loud in Parliament, but especially against Sir *Gyles Mompesson*, Sir *Francis Michel*, and Sir *Edward Villers* (Half-Brother to the Marquess) who, tho' innocent in himself, was yet unwittingly trick'd by some crafty Merchants, into a piece of

Kna-

Knavery. They that were accus'd, *Some that were in danger, try to get it disolv'd.* with a great many others that exspect'd every hour to be in the same pickle, could invent no other way to escape, but by poisoning, the King with an ill Opinion of the Parliament, and so to get them dissolv'd. To this Intent, they terrify the Marques's, who (as was said) had a Hand in these Things, that were so much resented: they insinuate, 'That it was high time for him to look about him; considering that the King had (as was noted) at the Opening of the Session given Incouragement to the Parliament to redress Grievances, and had said openly before all the Members, *Spare none, where you find just Cause to punish.* And if the Two Houses should sit a whole Year, the greatest Advantage that could be hop'd for from them, would be but Two or Three Subsidies at the most; and that it were better for the King to gather such a Sum or greater by his Prerogative, tho' it be a little out of the way, than to wait for the Exhibition of a little Money, which will cost dishonour in the End, and the ruin of his most Loyal and Faithful Subjects.

These

Frankl.
Annals, p. 52.

*The Mar-
quess at a
loss what
to do, till
the Dean
advis'd
him.*

(50.)

These Jealousies disturb the King, and haunt my Lord *Buckingham* with all the Terrors and dismal Apprehensions imaginable, till the Dean of *Westminster* with his seasonable Advice dispell'd the Glooms, and brought Things to a clear Light; Who address'd himself thus to the Marquess, (as Bishop *Hacket* found it in a Breviate of his own Hand-writing) ‘That there was ‘no reason to quarrel with the Parliament for tracing Delinquents; that ‘they deserv’d Praise for their Justice, ‘as well as for their Civil Behaviour ‘towards the King. But your Lord-‘ship (continues he) is jealous, that if ‘the Parliament holds long in Favour, ‘you may be brought into Question. ‘Follow this Parliament in their Un-‘dertakings, and you may prevent all: ‘Swim with the Tide, and there’s no ‘danger of drowning. They will be ‘glad of your Favour to assist them. ‘And trust me, and your other Ser-‘vants, that have some credit with the ‘most active Members, to keep you ‘clear from the Strife of Tongues. ‘But if you assist to break up this Par-‘liament, now in pursuit of Justice, ‘only to save Villains; you will pluck
‘up

up a Sluce, which will overwhelm
your self. The King will find it
a great Difservice before one Year
expire. This is Negative Counsel: I
will now spread Affirmative Proposals
before your Honour, which I have
studied and considered. Delay not
one Day, before you give your Bro-
ther Sir *Edward* a Commission for
an Embassage to some of the Princes
of *Germany*, or the *North-Lands*,
and dispatch him over the Seas, be-
fore he be miss'd. Those empty Fel- ^{Frankl.}
lows, Sir *G. Mompeſſon* and Sir *Fr.* ^{Annals, p.}
Michel, let them be made Victims to
the publick Wrath. Nay, my Sen-
tence is, destroy all Monopolies, and
Patents of griping Projeſtions. I have
search'd the Signet-Office, and have
collected almost Forty, which I have
hung in one Bracelet, and are fit for
Revocation. Damn all these in one
Proclamation, and your Lordship will
partake of the Applause together
with his Majesty. This will con-
vince the People that you do not ap-
prove of what you acted under a Mis-
representation of things, when you
were but new-blossom'd in Court,
and could not discover the Deformiy
that

'that lay hid. And God forbid, the
 'King should be incited to Collecti-
 'ons of Aid, without the Concur-
 'rence of his Parliament. An English-
 'man's Tribute comes not from the
 'King's Exaction, but by the People's
 'free Oblation out of the Mouth of
 'their Representatives.

*The Marq.
thanks him
for his Ad-
vice; and
the King
approving
of it, makes
him Privy-
Counsellor.*

(51.)

These were the Dean's Instructions;
 for which the Marques returning him
 Thanks, said, That hereafter, he would
 use no other Counsellor to ease him at
 a pinch: and well had it been for the
 Dean had he continued as good as his
 Word. Upon this they go both to-
 gether, and present these Proposals to
 the King; who approving highly of
 them, Things were transacted accord-
 ingly. And doubtless this piece of
 State-Wisdom, by which the Dean
 gave so masterly a stroke of his Skill,
 recommended him to the Honour soon
 after confer'd upon him. For the
 King finding him to be a Man of sound
 Wisdom, and of a stanch Judgment,
 he made him one of his Privy Coun-
 sellors; into which Office he was sworn
 on the 18th of June 1621.

*Stow's
Chron.*

This

This Parliament, wearied with long sitting, was prorogued from the 27th of March, to the 18th of April. The Marquess had a Design in it; thinking that this Interval would give them time to cool, and that it might mitigate the Displeasure of Both Houses, which at that time was very strong against the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*. But he was out in his Politicks, it seems; for Accusations, like Malice, grow more inveterate by delay, and Time discovers new Circumstances, instead of wearing out the old. So the Leisure of three Weeks multiplied a pile of fresh Suggestions against him, and nothing was presaged more certain than his Ruin: and accordingly being accus'd of *Bribery*, the Great Seal was taken from him on the third of May. Thus fell this Great Man: a Thing (considering the rest of his Character) almost incredible, were it not vouch'd by the univerſal Consent of the Histories of those Times.

The Courtiers, you may be sure, a great many of them were scrambling for the Place. And the most likely to get it was one Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, then Master of the Court of Wards. But

E the

the King, before he would dispose of it, had set *Buckingham* to enquire what the profits of it might amount to in Justice, and whether certain perquisites were natural to it, which some had a great mind to cut off. Sir *Lionel* intreats the Lord Marquess to be quick, and to advise concerning the Matter with the Dean of *Westminster*, a sound and a ready Man, who was not wont to *clap the Shackles of Delay upon a Bus'ness*. So, he being spoke to, to draw up in Writing what he thought of the Matter, he return'd a speedy Answer on the 10th of *May*, in these Words.

(52.)
*The Dean's
Account
of the Re-
venues of
that Office.*

My most Noble Lord,

Altho' the more I examine my self, 'the more unable I am made, to 'my own Judgment, to wade through 'any part of that great Imployment, 'which your Honour vouchsafed to 'confer with me about; yet because I 'was bred under the Place, and that I am 'credibly inform'd, my true and Noble 'Friend the *Master of the Wards*, is 'willing to accept it (and if it be so, 'I hope your Lordship will incline that 'way) I do crave Leave to acquaint 'your

‘your Honour, by way of prevention,
‘with secret Underminings, which will
‘utterly overthrow all that Office, and
‘make it beggarly and contemptible.
‘The lawful Revenue of that Office
‘stands thus, or not much above, at
‘any time. In Fines certain 1300 £.
‘per An. or thereabout. In Fines Ca-
‘fual 1250 £. or thereabout. In greater
‘Writs 140. £. For Impost of Wine
‘100 £. In all 2790. And these are all
‘the true Means of that Great Office.

Away runs the Lord Marques with The Mar-
ques shews
it to the
King, who
pitches on
the Dean
for that
Office.. this Paper, and some other Informa-
tions of the Dean’s, and presents them to his Majesty, when the Ink was scarce dry: upon which the King, having perus’d the Paper, bolted out these unexpected Words, *You name divers to me to be my Chancellor.* The Marques pleas’d and surpriz’d at once, replies *ex tempore*, *Sir, I am a Suitor for none, but for him that is so capable in your great Judgment.* *Be you satisfied then* (says the King) *I think I shall seek no farther.* At this Buckingham impotent to contain his Joy, sends a blind Message to the Dean imediately, *That the King had a Preferment in the Deck for him.* He, ignorant of

Cabal. p.

409.

P. 138.

139.

what had pass'd, mistook the Message, guessing it might relate to the Bishoprick of *London*, now void by the Death of Dr. *King*, in prospect of which he had been a Suitor before. Thus in speaking for another, he sped for himself. This is the very Manner faithfully related, how this Preheminency dropt upon him, that never dreamt of it. And this Account, which I have taken from Bishop *Hacket*, of Dr. *Williams* his Advancement, first to the Deanery of *Westminster*, secondy to be Privy-Counsellor, and lastly to be Lord Keeper; as it discovers nothing in it of dishonourable Proceedings, so is it in it self very probable, and has, besides that, the Authority and Word of a worthy Prelate to strengthen and confirm it, and consequently to discredit the uncharitable Surmises made by Sir *A. W.* concerning the causes of his Rising; which I shall not trouble my self to transcribe here, but rather choose to refer my Reader to the Pamphlet it self, if he thinks it worth his while.

*The Dean
is sworn L.
Keeper.*

But I go on. On the 10th of *July* 1621. he was sworn Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*. And when the

the Seal was on that Day actually delivered to him at *Whitehall*, he made a Speech to the King, in the Audience of all the Lords of the Council; which because it is but short, I will transcribe.

(61.)

Rushw.

Hist. Coll.

part 1. p.

36.

*Makes a
Speech.*

Most Dread and Mighty Sovereign,
If I should think my self any way worthy or sufficient for this Great Place, wherein your Majesty is pleas'd to make Probation of me, I were the most unworthy and insufficient wretch in all the World. But in good Faith I do not: But as conscious of my own Unworthiness, I am quite astonish'd at your Favour and Goodness. I do not therefore trouble my Head to find out the Reasons of this Advancement, because I take it for no Ordinary Effect, but an Extraordinary Miracle. *Deus, & qui Deo proximus tacito munera dispertit arbitrario, & beneficiorum suorum indignatus per homines stare judicium, mavult de subditis dedisse Miraculum.* I must only lift up mine Eyes unto Heaven, and beseech that GOD, who some Ten Years since brought me like *Elisha* to be Servant only unto that *Elias*, who under GOD and your Majesty was

The LIFE of ABP. Williams,

the Chariot and Horsemen of our
Israel, that now he would be pleas'd
to double the Spirit of Elias upon his
Servant Elisha, whom your Majesty
hath invested with his Robe and Man-
tle. And for my especial Direction,
I will take up that Counsel which
Pliny gave his Friend Maximus,
newly elected Praetor for Achaia, Me-
minisse oportet Officii Titulum; I will
never forget my Office and Title: I
am design'd to be a Probationer in
this Place, and as a Probationer by
God's Grace I will demean my self;
I will take up together with this Seal
that Industry, Integrity and Modesty,
Non ut me Consulem, sed ut Consulatus
candidatum putem. That is, I will not
esteem my self a Keeper, but a Suitor
only for the Great Seal. And if I
feel the burden too heavy, (which I
mighty fear and suspect) I will choose
rather *Desinere quam Deficere*, to slip
it off willingly to some stronger Shoul-
der, than to be crush'd in pieces with
the poise of the same. And I humbly
beseech your Majesty also to remem-
ber, I am no more than a meer Pro-
bationer. If I prove raw at first, I
must have time to learn. The best of
them

them all have craved no less, and I will desire no more. For if after the full weighing of my Strength, I shall find my self unable for this Service, I will say unto your Majesty, as Jacob said unto Pharaoh, *Pastor ovium est servus tuus*; whatsoever you are pleas'd, Sir, to make me, I am but a Keeper of Sheep; in that Calling your Majesty found me, and to that Calling I shall be ready to appropriate my self again. In the mean time, I beseech your Majesty to protect this Court of Justice, wherein you have plac'd me, that the Strength and Power of that Body be nothing impaired through the Weakness of the Head. *Nemo Adolescentiam contemnat*. Let not my Fellows of another Profession cry out with him in the Psalm, *There, there, so would we have it*; neither let them say, *We have devoured him*. And so I end with my Prayer unto G o d, That your Majesty may live long, and my self no longer, than I may be serviceable to your Majesty.

His Majesty heard him very graciously, and said, That he was well pleas'd in his Choice, and that he was

(62.)

*The K. ap-
proves of
him.*

(59.)

*People surpriz'd at his Advance-
ment.*

confident he would not deceive his Jug-
ment. When it had taken Air, that
this great Preferment was like to be
confer'd upon the Doctor, People be-
gan to talk, every one as his Interest
or Affections prompted him. Some
would not believe it, and cry'd it was
impossible, so strange a thing should be;
others said it was no Novelty, but an
old Custom renew'd, and, God give
him Joy of his Office: And the Law-
yers, they fretted to have such a Flower
pull'd out of their Garland. But why
Court and Ch. p. 140. out of Theirs? 'Did they not know
*The Seal formerly in the Hands of the Cler-
gy.* 'that the Father of the late Chancellor
receiv'd the Seal from a Bishop, as
well as it came from the Son to a
Bishop again? Were they ignorant
*Sanderson Hist. of K. James, l. 2.
p. 504.* how former Ages held it more con-
sonant to Reason, to trust the Con-
science of the Clergy with the Case
of Lay-men, they being best able to
judge of a Case of Conscience; and
anciently the Civil Laws were adjud-
ged by the Ministers of the Church;
and the *Chancery* and other Courts
of Equity, then in the Charge of a
Divine Minister. And had K. *James*
liv'd to have effected his Desires, the
Clergy had fix'd firm footing in
Courts

P. 505.

Courts of Judicature, out of the road
of the Common-Law: and this was
the Reason of Dr. *Williams* his first
Initiation to this Office.

But to wrangle no longer with the
Lawyers: Since the Dean was to be
the Man, and since Promotion to any
Dignity will draw Envy more or less
upon any Man, but especially upon
one, whose sudden Advancement sur-
prizes People; let us see what Methods
the Dean took to soften the harshness of
Censure, and to qualify Envy as much
as possible; which certainly is the Duty
of every Wise Man in all his Actions.
Therefore, after he had got the Grant
of the Place, he obtain'd of the King,
that the Seal should not be taken from
the Commissioners, and put into his
Custody, before Ten Weeks were
over. Thus he thought Popular Dis-
course would have leisure to spend it
self, and he himself have time to study
and weigh the Trust of his Office;
and the better to enable himself to
discharge it, he kept Sir *Harry Finch*,
a most profound Lawyer, in his Lodg-
ings, from *May* to *October* following,
to advise with him upon all occasions.
By this means too, he had time to seek

*The Dean's
Caution to
avoid En-
vy.*

(60.)

(61.)

out for honest and able Servants to fill the Chief Places of Trust under him. Add to this, that in the *Interim* several Things were discours'd of, to his Honour: for when the first Heat of a Rumor is over, then People are apt upon second Thoughts, to reason the Matter candidly and fairly; whereas in the beginning the impetuous bent and current of the Stream is apt to appear even the weightiest Judgments along with it. Now it began to break out, that this Preferment was not of his own seeking, neither could it then or thereafter be made out, that he had bought his Greatness. Next to this, he shelter'd himself under his Modesty; which, because it is soft and yielding, breaks the force of Envy, the most of any thing; and therefore his humble Request to his Majesty was, That he would take off from the Grandure of his Place, by such Terms and Conditions in his Person, as might comprise it in a less size, than it was ever before receiv'd in by any. To this intent, he desir'd no Chancellor for the future might continue above three Years; that he should be in the nature of a Probationer for one Year and half;

half; that in the Court of *Chancery* he might have a *Master of the Rolls*, of exact Knowledge, to sit with him; and lastly, the constant Assistance of two Judges. What could shew greater Modesty and Caution, the two main Supporters of Men in high Places? But all these Proposals were rejected, and made ineffectual, 'tis likely under-hand by some curious Persons, who might have a mind to try, if the new Lord Keeper could walk alone without falling, in so slip'ry a Place. 'Tis to no purpose to answer the Objections which some Persons then made (and may make now) against his Entring upon that Office, being a Clergy-man, and set a-part, as it were, for God's ^(55.) *Objections* *against a Clergy-*
man's be-
ing Lord
Keeper, an-
swer'd.

Service: As if taking Orders did incapacitate a Man of Abilities from serving his King and Countrey; or as if a Priest were no Subject, and his King had no Right in him. 'Tis true indeed at first, when the Harvest was great, and the Labourers but few, the Labourers could not well be spar'd out of the Field, any more than a Soldier can in the Day of Battle. But now that the whole Nation is gain'd over to the Gospel, and thanks be to God,

God, we have able Pastors and Teachers; the Church of Christ may be serv'd and patroniz'd by other means, beside Preaching. And the Clergy have but too great need of some of their own Order in Places of Power and Dignity, to preserve their Maintenance from Sacrilege, and their Persons and Function from Contempt.

(56.) But what had been a real Objection could it have been made but true, was, that some should cry out, He was illiterate in the Laws: this scandal vanish'd soon tho', when the Court had Tryal of his Abilities. And to the Doctor's great Credit be it spoken, that tho' bred a Divine, yet no Man either before or after, acquitted himself beyond him, and perhaps, not equal to him, in *Chancery*.

(61.)
He is made
Bishop of
Lincoln,
and holds
his orber
Prefer-
ments too.

I have been so taken up with the Incumbrances of settling his Lordship in his new Office, that I have not had time before to tell my Reader, That, in the same Month he was made Lord Keeper, he was likewise made Bishop of Lincoln. And because the Revenues of that Bishoprick were but small, he urging, that the Port and Grandure of the Keeper's Place must be maintain'd

tain'd in some convenient manner, and if it might possibly be, without being a charge to his Majesty; his Lordship got a Grant to hold the Deanery of *Westminster*, which was sought after by several that stood upon the catch at that time, expecting that it would be voided by the Lord Keeper. It was well for him tho', that he had secur'd himself in the Deanery as fast as Law could make him, when about five Years after his Enemies strove to out him. By the Indulgence of his *Commendam* too, he held his Rectory of *Walgrave*; saying; *That the Instability of Humane Affairs, should make every Man look for a Dissolution of his Fortunes, as that of his Body.* Upon Cypr. Ang. his holding all his Preferments, Dr. p. 86. *Heylyn*, I remember, makes this pleasant Remark; That he was a perfect Diocess within himself, as being Bishop, Dean, Prebend, Residentiary and Parson all at once: To which let me add, That never was there, I believe, a Diocess more compleat, or better fill'd, in all the several Degrees of Dignity and Office.

The Keeper now being high in his Majesty's Favour, as the King had rais'd (63.)

rais'd him for his, so now he through
the King rais'd others for their Mer-
rits. He got the Royal Grant for
the Advancement of four at one time;
Dr. *Davenant* to the Bishoprick of *Sal-
isbury*, Dr. *Carew* to that of *Exeter*,
Laudmade
Bishop of
St. David's
by Wil-
liams's In-
serest.
and Dr. *Donne* to succeed *Carew* in
the Deanery of St. *Paul's*; at this time
too St. *David's* Bishoprick was void,
and the principal among those that put
for it was Dr. *Laud*, a Man of great
Learning. But, it seems, both the
King and the Archbishop of *Canter-
bury* were much bent against him,
judging him to be a Man of too bold
and hot a Spirit for those Times. So
that there had been but small hopes
for him, had not *Buckingham* set the
Keeper on to move in his behalf;
(64) who by his great Importunity with
the King, at last prevail'd for him,
with much ado: For, says the King
to him in a passion, as he went away,
*Then take him to you, but on my Soul you
will repent it:* And 'twas ominous, it
seems. After this, the Lord Keeper
retain'd *Laud* in his Prebend of *West-
minster*, and about a Year after gave
him a Living of about 120*l. per An.*
in the Diocese of St. *David's*, to help
his

his Revenue; which being brought to him at *Durham-House*, beyond his Expectation, by Mr. *William Winn*, his Expression was, *Mr. Winn, my Life will be too short to requite your Lord's Goodness*. But how two Men so Great and so good should break out after into open Enmity is a Mystery to me at present. If I can hit upon any probable account, by that time I come to speak of their Differences, the Reader shall have it: Else I shall not, I think, put my Invention upon the stretch, out of Prejudice to either Party: I being wholly unconcern'd as to either of them, any farther than that I am willing, as far as shall lie in my Power, to rescue the Memories of great and worthy Men from such Calumnies, as it is but too often their hard Fortune to be fullied withall: so ungrateful and sacrilegious are we to the Dead, to curry Favour with the Living; who, when their Turn comes (as who knows how nigh his own may be) to quit the World, are like to fare no better; if there be any thing to be gain'd by throwing Infamy, Reproaches, and such heavy Lumber upon their Graves, instead of raising Monuments for them.

I would beg my Reader's Pardon for this Digression, but that would but inlarge it.

The Keeper's Diligence in his Office.

(53.)

I proceed now to shew the Lord Keeper in his New Imploym't; for I have already kept him longer idle than he would be content to be, were he now living. He was a Man (as we have seen before) of incomparable Natural Parts; but alas! under a load of Bus'ness they sink soon; and nothing but Application and incessant Industry can rub through all Incumbrances, and make clean Work. It is almost incredible what a perfect Drudge the Keeper was, especially when he first entred upon his Office: for long use and familiarity makes all Bus'ness easy. It was in the end of *Michaelmas* Term that he first appear'd in *Chancery*, and in *November* the *Parliament* sate again, in which he was Speaker in the Lord's House: and he had in the Court of *Chancery*, besides the ordinary Bus'ness, several Causes, which were refer'd in the preceeding Session of *Parliament* to the succeeding Lord Keeper, to view the Orders of his Predecessor displac'd. And his Bus'nes at this time was so great, that he was forc'd to

to sit by Candle-light in the Court two hours before Day, and to remain there till between Eight and Nine; then to repair to his Office in the House of Lords till Twelve or One every Day. After a short Repast at Home, he return'd to hear the Causes in *Chancery*, which he could not dispatch in the Morning: Or if he attended at Council in *Whitehall*, he came back towards Evening, and follow'd his Imployment in *Chancery* till Eight at Night, and later. After this, when he came Home, he perus'd what Papers his Secretaries brought to him, and when that was done, tho' late in the Night, he prepar'd himself for the Lord's House next Morning. And all that liv'd in his Family, knew that it was ordinary with him, to begin his Studies at Six at Night, and to continue them till Three in the Morning, and be ready again by Seven to attend his Imployment. When I read or hear of such great Examples as This, it makes me think with Regret, what a great many precious Hours we squander away; how we forget the great Errand we are sent upon, and let the Bus'ness of the

World, and the Welfare of Mankind run all to havock, while we are either lazily stretching our selves in our Beds, or impertinently cutting out our Time into formal Visits, or idle Assignations.

(71.)
His En-
trance upon
his Office.

(72.)
His Speech.

Upon the First Day of the Term, when he was to take his Place in Court, he declin'd all the Pomp of an Inauguration; and setting out betimes in the Morning, attended by the Judges, and some few more, he pass'd through the Cloisters into the Abby, and went with them into *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel, where he pray'd devoutly on his Knees almost a quarter of an Hour: Then rising up chearfully, he was conducted by his small Train to a mighty confluence, that expected him in the Hall. These he address'd himself to from the Bench of the Court of *Chancery*: I omit the Speech it self; but the Substance of what he spoke was, 'To desire, that those Reasons of State, which had thought it convenient, to change the Gouvernour of this Court from a Professor of our Municipal Laws, to some one of the Nobility, Gentry or Clergy of this Kingdom, might not create him any Envy.'

‘Envy. And tho’ I dare not take upon
‘me (says he) to account for these
‘Reasons; yet peradventure this Court
‘of Equity may be as soon perverted
‘by too much, as too little Law: And
‘the principal Qualifications for the
‘well managing of it, seem to be, great
‘Natural Abilities, and a large com-
‘pass of Learning, with a sincere In-
‘tegrity of Mind, rather than an exact
‘Knowledge in the Quirks of the Law.
‘Then he proceeds modestly to con-
‘fess his own Insufficiency for so great
‘a Place; but since it had pleas’d G o D
‘and his Majesty to put him upon an
‘Office, which was not of his own
‘seeking, tho’ at present he was unfit,
‘yet he would endeavour all he could,
‘to make himself fit; and the better
‘to enable him, he would put his
‘whole Trust and Confidence in G o D.
‘To this he added some few Resolu-
‘tions, by which he design’d to guide
‘his Actions: as *First*, never to make
‘any Decree that should cross the
‘Grounds of the *Common* or *Statute*
‘*Laws*. *Secondly*, never to encourage
‘any Motion made at the Bar, which
‘did not tend apparently to further
‘and hasten the Hearing of the Cause.

(73.)

(74.) ‘Thirdly, that without special Motives,
 ‘he would not overthrow the Decrees
 ‘of his Predecessors. *Fourthly*, to be as
 ‘cautious as possible in referring Cau-
 ‘ses, because it defer’d the hearing of
 ‘them. *Fifthly*, he resolv’d that this
 ‘Court should be no Sanctuary for un-
 ‘discreet and desperate Sureties. *Lastly*,
 ‘that he would follow the Rules of this
 ‘Court as near as possibly he could.

His well ordering of the Court of Chancery.

To make good Resolutions is doubt-
 less the Mark of an ingenuous Temper,
 but to keep them and practice according
 to them, shews a Man stanch and of sted-
 dy Principles. And whatever the Kee-
 per resolv’d, he had Courage and In-
 dustry enough to go through with it.
 When he had been some time in his
 Place to stock himself with Experience,
 never was the Court of *Chancery* bet-
 ter order’d, than in his Time. For
 he made it his Bus’ness to prevent all
 immethodical Pleadings, to cheek Ex-
 cursions, and hold the Council close
 to the Point. Immediately upon the
 opening of a Bill, he would dire&t the
 Pleaders, and suffer th’m to speak on-
 ly the very weight of the Cause. And
 so skilful did he grow in his Bus’ness,
 that when he had been in Office for

two Terms, the Council at the Bar (who were Men of Worth and Judgment) approv'd of him very much.

After he had spent three Years in *Chancery*, he was not a whit inferior to the best Judge for Sufficiency, to manage his Place. So that it is a Slander, that his Successor the Lord *Coventry*,

(200.)

His Decrees never cancel'd.

vers'd many of his Decrees, and corrected his Errors. Let me (says Bishop *Hacket*) quote a couple of Witnesses, what they asserted of him; and they are (continues he) rightly produc'd, as GOD shall judge.

(201.)

The Duke of *Buckingham*, in the beginning of *Michaelmas Term 1624.* desir'd the Lord *Chief-Justice Hobart*, to certify the King, that *Williams*, by reason of his Inabilities and Ignorance, was not fit for the Keeper's Place; and upon that, he would engage to throw him out, and that he should succeed him.

My Lord (replies *Hobart*) *somewhat might have been said at the first, but he should do the Lord Keeper great wrong that should say so now.* The next is Mr. *G. Evelin*, one of the six Clerks, and in his Time the best Head-piece of the Office, who took pleasure in saying (as many yet know) that the

Lord Keeper *Williams* had the most tow'ring, sublime Wit, that he ever heard speak; and that his Decrees in all Causes were just: that the Lord *Coventry* did seldom alter any thing he had settled before him, but upon new Presumptions, and that he spake of him always in Court very honourably. By that time too that he had spent three Years in the Court of *Chancery* he had obtain'd a very great command over his Passion, (which was at first objected to him) and he carried all things with a mild and gentle Hand, would chide little, and bear much. How excellent he was for dispatching Bus'ness, take this Account, which he gives of his first Year, in a Letter to the Lord Marquess: *July 10. 1622.*

*Masters his
Passion.*

*His great
Dispatch
in Bus'ness.*

(74.)

In this Place I have now serv'd his Majesty one whole Year, diligently and honestly; but to my Heart's grief, by reason of my Rawness and Inexperience, very unprofitably. Yet if his Majesty will examine the Registers, there will be found more Causes finally ended this Year, than in all the seven Years preceding: How well ended, I confess ingenuously, I know not. His Majesty and your Lordship (who, no doubt, have

re-

receiv'd some Complaints, tho' in your Love you conceal them from me) are in that the most competent Judges. His Dispatch (it seems) which was his great Excellency, was cry'd out against by some, and that Causes were cut off too soon. But it was not with him as with a corrupt Judge, that will put off a Hearing to a more convenient Seafon, as they call it.

(75.)

Before I leave this Court to follow him to the *Star-Chamber*, I shall desire my Reader to laugh a little with me, at a diverting Passage which happen'd about his first Entrance upon *Chancery*. And here I shall borrow Bishop *Hacket's* own Phrase, for the better Expressing of the Story. It happen'd once, that one at the Bar (thinking the Lord Keeper as a Novice, might be ignorant of the Terms of the *Common-Law*) trouled out a Motion, cramm'd like a *Granado* with obsolete Words, thinking with these misty Phrases, to baffle the new Judge: But he, with a serious Face, answer'd him in a cluster of crabbed Notions pick'd out of *Metaphysicks* and *Logick*; as *Categorematical*, and *Syncategorematical*, and a deal of such drumming stuff,

(76.)

that the Motioner being foiled at his own weapon, and well laugh'd at in the Court, went Home with this new Lesson, *That he that tempts a Wise Man in jest, shall make himself a Fool in earnest.*

His Proceedings in the Star-Chamber. Here he kept up the Dignity of the Court, by driving away all those Contentious Squabbles, which might

(82.) be better compounded at Home, by Countrey Justices; and admitting here only grave and weighty Causes, as notorious Examples of Defamations, Perjuries, Riots, Extortions, and the like. Upon which Topicks his Speeches were admirable, and taken in short-hand by several. They were neither tedious nor virulent; for he did not love to heighten the Calamities of the Afflicted. And so pitiful was he in his Censures, that if there be an extreme in shewing Mercy, it was his Fault. He would excuse himself from inflicting any severe Bodily Punishment upon an Offender, by saying, That Councils had forbad Bishops from meddling with Blood in a Judicial Form. So glad was he to have some pretence to be over Merciful.

(83.)

But

But once he did violence to his Nature, and the Occasion was this: One *Floud* had said, as was prov'd against him, That our Bishops were no Bishops, but only Lay-men, and usurpers of that Title. *Floud* (says the Lord Keeper) *since I am no Bishop in your Opinion, I will be no Bishop to you.* *I concur with my Lords (the like I never did before) in your Corporal Punishment.* In Pecuniary Fines too, his Hand was so light, that the Lord Treasurer *Cranfield* complain'd against him to the King, for less'ning his Majesty's Fees. And he was as generous too in remitting his own; for when Sir *Francis Inglefield* blurted out before Witnesses, *That he could prove this Holy Bishop-Judge had been brib'd by some that far'd well in ther Causes;* the Bishop to clear himself, calls Sir *Francis* to make good his Words; which he being not able to do, a Fine of some thousands of Pounds was laid upon him, to be paid to the King and the Injur'd Party. Soon after, the Lord Keeper sends for the poor dejected Gentleman, and told him, he would give him Demonstration, that he was above a Bribe; and for my part (says he) I for-

(84.)

that the Motioner being foiled at his own weapon, and well laugh'd at in the Court, went Home with this new Lesson, *That he that tempts a Wise Man in jest, shall make himself a Fool in earnest.*

His Proceedings in the Star-Chamber. Here he kept up the Dignity of the Court, by driving away all those Contentious Squabbles, which might

(82.) be better compounded at Home, by Countrey Justices; and admitting here only grave and weighty Causes, as notorious Examples of Defamations, Perjuries, Riots, Extortions, and the like. Upon which Topicks his Speeches were admirable, and taken in short-hand by several. They were neither tedious nor virulent; for he did not love to heighten the Calamities of the Afflicted. And so pitiful was he in his Censures, that if there be an extreme in shewing Mercy, it was his Fault. He would excuse himself from inflicting any severe Bodily Punishment upon an Offender; by saying, That Councils had forbad Bishops from meddling with Blood in a Judicial Form. So glad was he to have some pretence to be over Merciful.

(83.)

But

But once he did violence to his Nature, and the Occasion was this: One *Floud* had said, as was prov'd against him, That our Bishops were no Bishops, but only Lay-men, and usurpers of that Title. *Floud* (says the Lord Keeper) *since I am no Bishop in your Opinion, I will be no Bishop to you. I concur with my Lords (the like I never did before) in your Corporal Punishment.* In Pecuniary Fines too, his Hand was so light, that the Lord Treasurer *Cranfield* complain'd against him to the King, for less'ning his Majesty's Fees. And he was as generous too in remitting his own; for when Sir *Francis Inglefield* blurted out before Witnesses, *That he could prove this Holy Bishop-Judge had been brib'd by some that far'd well in ther Causes;* the Bishop to clear himself, calls Sir *Francis* to make good his Words; which he being not able to do, a Fine of some thousands of Pounds was laid upon him, to be paid to the King and the Injur'd Party. Soon after, the Lord Keeper sends for the poor dejected Gentleman, and told him, he would give him Demonstration, that he was above a Bribe; and for my part (says he) I forgive

(84.)

(201.) give you ev'ry Penny of my Fine, and will beg of his Majesty to do the same. This piece of Generosity so vanquish'd Sir *Francis*, that he acknowledg'd his Fault, and was afterwards receiv'd into some degree of Friendship and Acquaintance with him. And now my Hand is in, I will give you another little Story, that shews much of his Averseness to Bribery. His Lordship being retired one Summer to *Nonsuch-House*, it chanced, as he was taking the Air in the great Park, that he cast his Eye on the little Village of *Malden*, from one of the Hills; and seeing there a New-built Church, he ask'd at whose Expence it was. Mr. *George Minors*, that attended him then, told his Lordship, who was the greatest Benefactor. And has he not a Suit depending now in *Chancery*? faith the Keeper; the very same, reply'd the other. *And the same (returns the Keeper) shall not fare the worse for Building of Churches.* When Mr. *Minors* had told his Neigbour this, the next Morning he sent a Taste of the Fruits of his Orchard, and the Poultry in his Yard, to *Nonsuch-House*: Nay carry them back *George* (says the Keeper)

Keeper) and tell your Friend, he shall not fare the better for sending of Presents.

But you'll say, this is but a trifle; and he that forfeits his Honour at so cheap a rate, must be both Fool and Knave. And it is impossible a Man should live at the rate he did, and expend such vast Sums, but he must have some By-way to enrich himself. To this I answer, That he was liberal indeed, but then his Income was large by his Pre-
Cabal. p.
409.
He numbers up
Nine Pre-
ferments,
which he
had when
he was
Dean of
Westmin-
ster.
ferments, and he knew well how to manage it to the best Advantage. Add to this, that he never feasted the King, and very rarely put himself to the charge of any Entertainments for the Courtiers. But what he did disburse was principally upon poor Scholars, and decay'd Gentlemen, whom he would thank any one to inform him of: And the Prisoners at the Gate-house were the better for his Charity every week. And thus with God's Blessing upon his Plenty, he was able to go a great way with his Purse.

Ay, but (says A. W.) Williams exceeded Bacon in the way of Bribery; ^{Co. & Ch.} p. 139. answering by Petitions, in which his Servants had one part, himself another, and

(105.) and so was calculated to be worth to him and his Servants 3000 l. per An. a new way, never found out before. And true it is, that it was objected to him, That he dispatch'd a great many Causes by hearing Petitions in his Chamber; and this he did for the Relief of the Poor, from whom he could make no Advantage, either to himself or to his Secretaries. But he is not the first that has been accus'd for his Good Works. Some at the Bar, 'tis likely, were dissatisfied, because they had not a Glut of Motions. Therefore the Keeper, to secure himself from Misrepresentations (the Bane of honest Statesmen) directs two Remonstrances, the first to the Lord Marquess, Sept. 8. the other to his Majesty, Octob. 9. 1622. In that to the Marquess, he protests, that he is fain to allow twenty pounds a Year to a Youth in his Chamber, to take care of the poor Men's Petitions, the Secretaries did so neglect them. In that to his Ma'esty, he declares, that he had observ'd in all Orders upon Petition, the Cautions which he had receiv'd from him. Then, says he, *I humbly crave your Majesty's Opinion, whether I may go on this way; for what*

what reason have I to over-toil my self, in easing the Purse of the Subjects, if it be objected as a Crime against me, and be not a Service acceptable to your Majesty and the Realms? So the King approv'd of his proceedings. This Slander, as it troubled him very much, so he was diligent to clear himself from it; as appears not only from the Remonstrances, but likewise from a Letter of his at the same time to the Duke.

(107.)

Cabal. p.
292.

It is not sufficient to render an Officer unblameable, that he be proof against Bribery. He must likewise have Courage enough not to dread the Malice and Ill-will of any, so long as he does his Duty; and so much rigid Honesty as to stand out in a just Cause, against the Interest even of his dearest Friends, and greatest Benefactors: for there is one to whom we are all infinitely oblig'd more than to all the World beside, and that is GOD; whose Cause therefore can never be forsaken, without the blackest Ingratitude. This, I confess, is the greatest trial of Virtue; it being, doubtless, a harder injunction to Humanity, to forsake our Friends for GOD's sake, than to love our

our Enemies. How secure the Lord Keeper was from the Wo , so justly denounc'd against them that fear Men more than GOD, the Reader may see from several Instances, extant in Bishop

(70,71.) *Hacket*: And I shall make it evident enough, if, omitting those Passages, I only mention his Courage, in with-standing *Buckingham*, when he saw just reason for it; for to be sure if he would not yield to him, that was not only the most powerful Courtier in his time, but likewise his very great Patron, no one will surmise that he stood in Aw

(207.) of others. And so remarkable was his Resolution in sometimes crossing of this Great Favourite's Designs, when he saw weighty Reasons for it; that the King when in a pleasant mood would say, *That he was a stout Man, that durst do more than himself*: For the Duke, it seems, was so great with the Prince, that the King himself was forc'd in Policy to hide his Resentments from him.

(208.) And his Majesty thank'd GOD in the presence of many, that he had put the Keeper into that place: *For (says he) he that will not wrest Justice for Buckingham's sake, whom he loves, will never be corrupted*

rupted with Money, which he never lov'd. And because the Keeper had liv'd fairly for the space of three Years upon the bare Revenues of his Office, and was not the richer by the Sale of one Cursitor's place in all that Time; his Majesty gave him a Bountiful New-Years Gift, thinking it but reasonable to encourage him by his Liberality, that never sought after Wealth, by the sordid means of Extortion or Bribery.

I have given you a full View of the ^{His Con-} Lord Keeper in Chancery, and in the ^{due in} Star-Chamber. In the next place I ^{Parlia-} shall bring him into the Parliament-House, and see with what Prudence he behav'd himself there; a Station, perhaps, much more ticklish than either of the former. In the first Term that he came into Office, the Parliament sat ^(76.) in its second Session Nov. 20. at which time by command from the King, he spake to both Houses: of which Speech thus my Lord Buckingham speaks in a Letter to him, dated November 24. ^{Rush. Col.} *I know not how the Upper-House of Par-* ^{lect. p. 39.} *lament approve of your Lordship's* ^{An. 1621.} *Speech, but I am sure he that called* *them together, and, as I think, can best* *judge*

judge of it, is so taken with it, that he saith, It is the best that ever he heard in Parliament, and the nearest to his Majesty's Meaning; which, beside the Contentment it hath given his Majesty, hath much comforted me in the Choice of your Lordship; who in all things do so well answer his Expectation.

The Keeper gives his Reasons why the Nobility should not swear by their Honour.

(77.)

Two remarkable occurences happen'd this Session that more immediately relate to the Keeper. For when the Privilege of the Nobility was debated, and almost carried by a Majority, that the Vouching of their Honour should pass with them for an Oath; he prevented it, by the Force of the following Reasons. That the Word of GOD allows of no swearing in deciding of Controversies, and searching after Truth, but by his Name: That the last Appeal is ever to the highest; And that Vengeance belongs to none but GOD. To this he adds, That Singularities are ever to be suspected, and challenges any Man to shew that any other Oath, but in the Name of GOD, was us'd in solemn Tryals at that Day, in any Part of Christendom. He advises them to consi-

consider too, how loth the Gentry and Commonalty would be to intrust their Freehold to the protestation of Honour. And these Considerations prevail'd with most. But the Debate continuing very long that Morning, an aged Bishop, very infirm in Health, desired to be excused if he could not stay it out. With all our Hearts (said some Lords, that did not much reverence the Order) you may all of you troop Home as fast as you please; The Bishops affronted by some Lords Temporal. and the Earl of *Essex*, pressing it more passionately than any, desired to know if their Lordships were not content to throw the Doors wide open, and let all the Bishops out, if they would. Upon this, up stands the Keeper, and with a prudent Animosity, reply'd, The Keeper speaks for them.

'That if he were commanded, he would put it to the Question, but to the King, and not to the House of Peers. For their Lordships, as well Spiritual as Temporal were call'd by the King's Writ, to sit and abide there, till the same Power dissolv'd them. And for my Lords Temporal, they had no Power to license themselves, much less to authorize others to depart from the Parliament: and so all was husht.

G

And

And this very Passage, were there no more of the Lord Keeper remaining, is sufficient to shew him to be as Great a Man, as ever spoke in *Parliament*.

(81.)
*The King
and Com-
mons dis-
agree.*

Rush. Col-
lect. p. 40.
41, &c.
Cabal. p.
288.

Rush. Col-
lect. p. 54.

At this time again the House of *Commons* and the King could by no means agree; for they displeas'd him very much with their Petitions and Remonstrances, insomuch that his Majesty in a Letter rebuk'd them severely: The harshness of which Answer, the Keeper advis'd might be mitigated and softned; for he could never bear, that there should be a Misunderstanding between the King and his People, if it were possible to prevent it. Nevertheless, the Ferment by degrees work'd it self to such a height, that the King departed from them in his Wrath, and dissolv'd them utterly by Proclamation, on the 6th of January. This troubled the Keeper very much, who saw plainly of what dangerous Consequence this might be, and how much his Majesty trespass'd against the true Principles of *English Policy*, by quarrelling with his *Parliament*. And therefore he did all he could to persuade the King to make it his earnest En-

Endeavour to unite with them, when they were assembled next.

Upon *Michaelmas Eve*, Viscount An. 1621; Stow Ch. *Mandevile*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, Lord Cranfield made L. Treasur. surrend'red his Office up to the King, and upon the next Day after but one, the Lord *Cranfield* was set in his place. (104.)
The Keeper giving him his Oath, complimented him too with a short Speech at his Admission. So that as yet there was nothing in appearance but Friendship between *Cranfield* and *Williams*; tho' the Treasurer had cross'd him in one or two Suits, which he regarded the less, because he knew him to be a little rough and surly by Nature to all People. But after the Dissolution of the preceding *Parliament*, some of the Lords of the Council thought it advisable, to take off from the harshness of it, by a Pardon of Grace, for the Benefit of those that were question'd for old Debts and Duties to the Crown. And when the Lord Keeper had just brought it to a Head, int' steps the Treasurer, and moves, That such as took out this Pardon, should pay the accustom'd Fees, to such Officers as he should appoint, that so he might at once in-

rich the King and himself: which Proposal was laugh'd at, and rejected. Yet still he persisted to burden this Pardon with such Incumbrances, which must needs render it unacceptable; insomuch that it was lay'd aside, and debated no more. This as it got the Treasurer a great deal of Ill-will, so it redounded to the Keeper's Credit, who was one of the main Sticklers for the Pardon. This gall'd Cranfield sorely, and set him upon endeavouring, first to make a Faction at Court against *Williams*: but having not sufficient Interest with the Great Ones, he tries another Trick. So he falls to Pen, Ink and Paper, and *Draws up some pitiful Failings, interwoven with Fiction and Ignorance*, against him; from which the Keeper found it a much easier Task to clear himself, than his Adversary did at first to invent them. But yet he complains, in a Letter to the Marquess, as very sensible of the Injury done him; whose Answer to him was, that his Adversary was not believ'd, and desired him to consider, that he had to do with one whose Ill-manners would give him no satisfaction: to which the Keeper replies,

*Cranfield
endeavours
to ruin the
Keeper.*

*Cabal. p.
292.*

*P. 292.
The Keeper
clears him-
self from
his Accu-
sations.*

in

in another Letter, His Majesty's Justice, and your Lordship's Love, are Anchors strong enough for a Mind more toss'd than mine is, to ride at. Yet pardon me, my Noble Lord, upon this Consideration, if I exceed a little in Passion, the Natural Effect of Honesty and Innocency. A Churchman and a Woman, have no greater Idol under Heaven, than their Good Name: And they cannot fight, nor with credit scold, and least of all recriminate, to protect and defend the same. The only Revenge left them is to grieve and to complain. Then he concludes, Whom I will either challenge before his Majesty to make good his Suggestions, or else (which I hold the greater Valour, and which I wanted, I confess, before this Check of your Lordship's) go on in my Course, and scorn all these unworthy Scandals, as your Lordship shall direct me. But for all this in a Month's space, they wrangled themselves into very good Friends again; and the Keeper was Godfather to the Treasurer's next Child.

In the Year 1623. in Febr. The Parliament met again, his Majesty thinking it high time to enter into a Cor-

G 3 correspondence

(175.)
*A Call of
Serjeants,*

(110.) correspondence with his People once more. The Lord Keeper, foreseeing this, gets his Majesty to sign a Writ, for a Call of Serjeants; which accordingly was perform'd on *May* the 6th.

Fifteen, ^{and}
according to
Stow.

Thirteen of the best Repute being chosen, who on that Day made their Appearance before the Lord Keeper, sitting in the High Court of *Chancery*; from whence he saluted them with a Learned and Eloquent Oration, according to the Relish of those Times, that lov'd to have their Speeches embroider'd with *Greek* and *Latin*: As tho' the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel* had been absolutely necessary to compleat the Art of *Oratory*: But yet a Great Man must condescend to the Follies of the Times he lies in; and perhaps it were no impertinent Caution, to speak generally with the Vulgar, tho' we may think with the Wise. But, to go on with the *Parliament*:

(175.) When they were met, and the King had ended his Speech to them, he was seconded by the Lord Keeper; and so ended the first Day. On *Saturday* following, the 21. of the Month, the

(179.) Keeper again declar'd his Majesty's Mind to the People: And so well was he

approv'd of for a Speaker, that within three Days after, he had work enough, and too much of that Nature on his Hands. The Duke of *Buckingham* (it seems) had entertain'd the *Lords* and *Commons* in the *Banqueting-house* at *Whitehall*, with the whole Story of the Negotiation in *Spain*, and how well both the Prince and he had managed their Conduct all along in that Affair; when at the same time (if we credit some Historians) the Duke's Behaviour in that Court was all imprudent. But however (Nature making every Man Orator in his own Cause) he put a good Gloss upon it, and so tickled their Ears with his Harangue, that they must have it over again the next Day, and the Keeper must be the Speaker. So he rubs up his Memory, draws up his Notes in haste upon three Sheets of Paper, and lays his whole Scheme according to the Duke's Model presented the Day before; for to err from that, he knew, would be no less than Treason.

So, when the time was come, he began his Speech, and held it on for four Hours together, without the least Hesitation or Repetition; and every

*The Keeper
desir'd to
repeat the
Duke's
Account of
the Spanish
Treaty to
the Parlia-
ment.*

*The Duke
is pleas'd
with the
Narration
of it.
(185.)*

thing was so methodical, so judicious and so graceful withal; that he never got more Applause in his Life for any thing of that kind: And so acceptable was it to the Duke himself (tho' then but a cold Friend) that he said, *He knew not how to thank him enough for it.*

(186.)
*The Kee-
per's care
to preserve
Agreement
between
King and
People.*

*Cyprianus
Angl. p.
123.*

I should be too particular should I make it my Bus'ness to recount how very active the Keeper was in this Blessed Parliament (eminently so call'd) for the publick good; how he studied to preserve a mutual Agreement between the King and his People, by keeping up the Prerogative of the one, and maintaining the lawful Liberties of the other; how he would compose Discontents, and mollifie the Refractory, and oblige the leading Voices with Benefits, and what other Favours he thought might win upon them. I shall instance only in two Passages, how very tender he was of admitting the least occasion that might tend towards a Disgust any way between his Majesty and his Subjects. The Lord Treasurer Cranfield (you are to understand) had disoblig'd the Prince, when he was in Spain,

by

by dissuading the King from those large Supplies, which were requir'd for the Maintaining of his Port in a Foreign Court. And he had lost himself with the Duke, by joining (as was thought) in some secret Practices, to lessen him in his Majesty's Favour. Now both the Prince and the Duke had sided with the *Commons* in drawing the King by their continual Importunities to dissolve the Treaty; and the *Commons* must now take their Parts in prosecuting *Cranfield*. This Accident troubled the King mightily, who was then at *Greenwich*. He had put great Confidence in his Treasurer, and therefore try'd all he could to defend him: he sends for the Prince his Son, and charges him, That he should not be of any Party in either House; but all to no purpose; for the Duke had push'd him on so far, that there was no retreating. So his Majesty sent for the Lord Keeper, and told him plainly, That he would not make his Treasurer a publick Sacrifice. 'Sir (says the Keeper) I have attempted amongst my surest Friends, to bring him off fairly: All shrink and refuse me; only the stout and prud-

(186.)

'dent Lord *Hollis* adventur'd upon the
'Frowns of the Prince and Duke, and
'gave his Reasons, why *Middlesex*
'appear'd to him an Innocent. I were
'mad, if, for my part, I should not
'wish him to escape this Tempest, and
'be safe under the Harbour of your
'Majesty's Clemency. When I deli-
berate upon him, I think of my self;
'tis his Fortune to Day, 'tis mine to
'Morrow. The Arrow that hits him
'is within an handful of me. Yet, Sir,
'I must deal faithfully; your Son the
'Prince is the main Champion, that
'encounters the Treasurer; whom if
'you save, you foil your Son. For
'tho' matters are carried by the whole
'Vote of *Parliament*, and are driven
'on by the Duke; yet they that walk
'in *Westminster-Hall*, call this The
'Prince's Undertaking; whom you
'will blast in his Bud to the Opinion
'of all your Subjects, if you suffer not
'your Old, and perhaps Innocent Ser-
'vant to be pluck'd from the Sanctuary
'of your Mercy. Necessity must ex-
'cuse you from Inconstancy or Cruelty.

The Treas-
surer is
fin'd and
imprison'd. So with these Reasons the King was
perswaded to yield to the Headstrong
Importunities of his *Parliament*;
and

and the Treasurer was depos'd, fin'd Stow's Chron. a thousand Pounds, and committed to the Tower, on the 20th of May 1624. But discharg'd thence again on the first of June next following. For, let but a People (like foward Children) have their Will, when they are bent upon it, and after the Heat is over with them, you may bring them to any thing, nay even to undo what they so passionately acted before. And it must be an inveterate Malice, indeed, that does not relent and grow mild, when the Revenge is over.

The next thing I have to mention, happen'd in the Year 1622. When his Majesty design'd to call a *Parliament*, (which was the *Parliament* I spoke of just before) that they might not waste Time in speaking to petty Grievances, The Keeper's Advice about the King's Proclamation to redress Grievances. he being then at *New-Market*, drew up a Proclamation on Feb. 20th himself; that certain of the Lords of the *Privy-Council* should have a special Commission to receive the Complaints of the Subject, and that they should be encourag'd to present their Grievances by the Judges in their respective Circuits, as well as by the Proclamation. This came by Post, to pass the Great-

(109.)

*The Letter
is in Bishop
Hacket.*

(110.)

*His Advice
concerning
the Gene-
ral Pardon
for the Pa-
pists.*

Cabal. p.
297.

Great-Seal: But the Lord Keeper looking it over, after he had consider'd upon it, sends it back without the Seal, with his Advice in a Letter, That his Majesty would be pleas'd (if he had no private Reasons to the contrary to make it, according to the Methods propos'd by him, a little more palatable and agreeing to the People, before it was publish'd. And when the King had read the Letter, and saw how very reasonable the Advice was, he alter'd every thing according to the Keeper's Directions. To this I might add, what occurs to me at this present, his great Care to prevent Jealousies amongst the People, when his Majesty (the Treaty then going on with Spain) sent, to have the *Great-Seal* put first to a General Pardon of all Offences past, with a Dispensation for those to come, to all the *Roman Catholicks*: And then, upon that, to issue forth two General Commands under the *Great-Seal*; the First, to all the Judges and Justices of the Peace; and the Second, to all Bishops, Chancellors and Commissaries, not to execute any Statute made against them. 'The General Pardon (says the Keeper)

' we

‘we have pass’d in as full and ample a
‘Manner as they could desire or pen
‘it. The other General and Vast
‘Prohibition I prevail’d with the rest
‘of the Lords to stop, for these Rea-
‘sons. First, because the Publishing
‘of this General Indulgence at one
‘push, might beget a general Discon-
‘tent, if not a Mutiny, but the Instil-
‘ling thereof into the People’s Know-
‘ledge by little and little, would not
‘shock them so much. Secondly, be-
‘cause to forbid the Judges and Justi-
‘ces of Peace against their Oaths, who
‘are sworn to execute the Law of the
‘Land, is a thing unpresidened in
‘this Kingdom, and would be a harsh
‘and a bitter Pill to digest, without
‘some Preparative. Thirdly, his Ma-
‘jesty useth to speak to his Bishops,
‘Judges and Justices of the Peace, by
‘his Chancellor or Keeper, and by the
‘Great-Seal; and I can signifie his
‘Majesty’s Pleasure to them with less
‘Noise and Danger, especially by
‘declaring unto them the neces-
‘sity of these Proceedings at this
‘Juncture of Time. All these Instan-
‘ces laid together, sufficiently manifest
his

his Opinion, That where a King and People disagree, they are like a *House divided against it self*; for it is impossible, in such a posture, that either of them should stand long.

*An Ac-
count of the
Keeper as
a Privy
Counsellor*

(84.)

Now we have pass'd through the Bus'ness of *Chancery*, *Star-Chamber*, and *Parliaments*, let us at last retire with him to the *Council-Board*: A Retirement indeed, such as becomes a *Wiseman*, and a *Philosopher*; not Retirement from Bus'ness, but from the Eyes of the *Vulgar*. This, tho' I mention it last of all, was yet the Office that he was first honour'd with in the State, being made *Privy Counsellor*, before he was made L. Keeper. And here (as Bishop *Hacket* very well observes) a great part of the Work is done in secret and behind the *Curtain*, and by consequence escapes our *Sight*, and very often our *Knowledge*. So that from what we know, we cannot but imagine, that much greater Matters were transacted, that are to us as tho' they had never been. He, that undertakes the Province of a *Counsellor*, had need of a Head well stored with *Politicks*, a Heart steell'd with *Honesty*, and a Spirit truly *Publick*,

lick, and jealous of his Countrey's Good and Honour: For, as Ignorance is blind, and therefore but a bad Pilot in a troubled State, so Craft is short-sighted ever, and never looks beyond it self; and a Cunning-man may insnare his Prince, but never can advise. What a great Opinion his Majesty had of the Keeper's Wisdom, as it appears from several other passages, so more particularly from this, that *Ludowick Duke of Richmond* should tell him, that the King listned to him before any Minister of State: And that he did the oftner, because if his Majesty were moody, or any way out of Humour, the Keeper would bring him to his Lure with some facetious and pleasant Dash of Wit or other. He was likewise judg'd a great Abetter of his Nation's Honour and Interest; which was the Reason, that he was employ'd by his Majesty more than all the rest, to Negotiate with Embassadors; in which Affairs it is an easy Matter to disgrace one's Country, if there be wanting either Conduct or Courage.

Thus you see how well he was qualified for the great Trust of a Counsellor.

*The Rules
he follow'd
in Council.*

(85.) sellor. And I find (says *Hacket*) by his own Confession remaining in some Papers, that he was beholding to the Lord *Egerton's* Directions, which were these: *First*, in all Advice to speak from the bottom of the Heart, without any reserve: *Secondly*, when any thing was propos'd, to examine first of all if it were just; for he that will make bold with God for Reasons of State, is not to be trusted by Man: in the next place, if it were for the Honour of the King; and lastly, if it were for the Advantage of Posterity, as well as for the present Good. To which he added this weighty Aphorism, *To ripen great Matters by Deliberation.* And his humble Request to his Majesty was, that Counsels should not be whisper'd by one or two in private, but be deliver'd openly at the Board, by sworn Counsellors. His Advice in General to him was, to follow former Precedents in all things, as much as possible: To let private Causes and Actions of *Meum* and *Tuum* be confin'd to the *Common-Law*, and not be admitted to the Council-Board, which his Majesty observ'd at his Request; to call *Parliaments* often, and to

to keep in with them ; never by his Prerogative to abridge the Subjects Liberty, and the Rights of the Laws ; and lastly to moderate his profuse Expences, and so to give , that there might be something left for the Prince his Son to give after him : But that (it seems) was a Lesson he could never teach him ; tho' he did all he could to make his Admonitions sink into him, by nicking the Seasons for speaking, as particularly before a Sacrament , and at such times , as he thought his Majesty might be best dispos'd to receive good Impressions .

I come now to give you a particular Instance or two , wherein he serv'd his Gracious Master by his great stock of Wisdom , and marvellous Skill in Politicks .¹⁰ And here will naturally fall in what he acted while the Prince was in Spain . The King never advis'd with the Keeper , nor any of his Couriers before his Son went over ; (tho' some then suspected that *Williams* was privy to it) but when he came from New-Market to Whitehall , which was on the 30th of March , when first he ^{An. 1623.} saw the Keeper , smiling he ask'd him , ' Whether he thought this Knight-

*The King
advises
with the
Keeper a-
bout the
Match
with Spain.*

(115.)

' Errant Pilgrimage would be lucky
 ' to win the *Spanish* Lady, and to con-
 ' vey her shortly into *England*? Sir,
 ' (says *Williams*) If my Lord Marquess
 ' will give Honour to Conde Duke *Oli-*
vares, and remember he is the Favou-
 ' rite of *Spain*, or if *Olivares* will shew
 ' honourable Civility to my Lord Mar-
 ' quess, remembering he is a Favourite
 ' of *England*, the Wooing may be
 ' prosperous. But if my Lord Mar-
 ' quess should forget where he is, and
 ' not stoop to *Olivares*; or if *Olivares*,
 ' forgetting what Guest he hath receiv'd
 ' with the Prince, bear himself haugh-
 ' tily, and like a *Castilian* Grandee to
 ' my Lord Marquess; the Provocation
 ' may be dangerous to cross your Ma-
 ' jesty's good Intentions. And I pray
 ' God that either one, or both of them
 ' do not run into that Error. This
 shews that he understood the Court
 of *Spain* at that time, as well as if he
 had been a Minister there. And the
 King, sensible of this, desir'd his As-
 sistance in this Business to the utmost
 of his power; and told him moreover,
 that if he would serve him faithfully
 in this one thing, *He would never part*
 with him. So the Keeper bethought
 him-

*The Keeper
furthers it,
and be-
friends
Bucking-
ham.*

himself Night and Day, how to ma-
nage this Affair, and what Advice to
give; and he sent Letters upon Let-
ters to the Duke and Prince. Now
Williams was glad that he had an Op-
portunity given him of Serving his
great Benefactor, and expressing his
Gratitude, which glow'd within his
Breast. He sent Letters to Count
Gondamar, to make *Buckingham* the
more acceptable in that Court; where-
in he desir'd of the Count, That he
would do that Justice to the Marquess,
as to make his Character known, for
a Person of a wondrous deal of Ge-
nerosity and Good-nature, with abun-
dance more to his Commendation. And
upon such Occasions it is that a Man
stands most in need of a Friend; for
I may speak for another, tho' I can't
with any Modesty for my self. More-
over, he did all he could to preserve
his Repute fair, both with the King
and People, when in his Absence seve-
ral Things were lay'd to his charge;
and he would send him a particular
Account of all the Occurrences at
Court; that so he might not be tre-
pan'd, before he was aware: And
happy sure are Men in great Places;

*The Letters
are in Hac-
ket, p. 16,
17, &c:*

(119.)

(117.)

that are bless'd with such Friends, as perhaps, while they are sleeping securely, like their Guardian-Angels, are ever wakeful, and tender of their Charge, and ready upon all Occasions to disappoint the Treacherous and Malicious Designs, that are ever forming against the Great. Yet, for all this, after the Prince and Duke came over again, the Keeper declin'd apace in the Duke's Favour; the Occasion of which will be fitter to be discover'd (if so be a true Discovery may be made at all, since the Springs of most Men's Actions are so dark) when we shall come to speak of his Fall, and the Causes thereof.

(208.)
*The Kee-
per's Ad-
vice to the
King about
a Provision
for the
Palsgrave's
Children.*

A little after this, when he had been now in Office about three Years and an half, he gave another proof of his great Abilities in Counsel. The Treaties in *Spain* being laid aside, and new ones set on foot in *France*, there was but small hopes of recovering the *Palatinate*; which was the Occasion of a great deal of Concern to his Majesty, because he could no way foresee how his Grand-Children (which were then but young) would be able to subsist, when they grew to be Men, without being

being very chargeable to *England*. Sir,
says the Lord Keeper, will you be
pleas'd to listen to me, taking in the
Prince's Consent, of which I make
no doubt, and I will shew, how you
shall furnish the Second and Third
Brothers, with Preferments sufficient
to maintain them, that shall cost you
nothing. Breed them up for Scho-
lars in Academical Discipline; keep
them strictly to their Books, with such
Tutors as will teach them not to abuse
themselves with vain Hopes upon
the Greatness of their Birth. If they
fall to their Studies, design them for
the Bishopricks of *Durham* and *Win-*
chester, when they become void. If
that happen in their Nonage (which
is probable) appoint Commendato-
ries to discharge the Duty for them
for a laudable Allowance, but gather-
ing the Fruits for the Support of your
Grand-Children, till they come to Vi-
rility to be consecrated. *George Duke*
of *Anhault*, having Ministerial Gifts,
was Ordain'd into that Holy Calling
at *Madgeburgh*, and yet put to no
Shifts; as *Melancthon* is my Author,
and many more. The Priestly Office
was esteem'd from the beginning fittest

118 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

(209.) for the best Gentlemen, for the First-born, among them that serv'd the True God. And the *Romans*, who serv'd them that were no Gods, learn'd it at *Athens* from *Theseus*, that Citizens of the Noblest Blood, should be train'd up in the Knowledge of Sacred Things, and be made the Administrators of Divine Mysteries. And I aim at another Benefit, wherein I praise God, that I am assured your Majesty will concur with me, That the Office of a Bishop, impudently by many maligned (I might charge them with a worse crime) will be the more Inviolable, when the Branches of your Royal Stock have so great an Interest in it. And such provision is needful against Schismatical Attempts, both for Religion's sake, and the Publick Weal. For if such great Superstructions should fall, all would come to ruin that is round about them. I will yet go further: If your Majesty think a Bishoprick, tho' of the best kind, too little for either of them, you may be pleas'd to annex to each of them one of your Principal Offices of State, as you find them trusty and discreet. When he had ended,

ended, *As I live* (says the King) *I will follow this Direction; I thank you heartily for it; and I account, that it will save me more than the worth of a Subsidy.* But the Counsel as good as it was, it seems, was never put into execution; which was no fault of the Lord Keeper's.

I proceed now to a very Remarkable Instance of his Policy, that will shew how very vigilant he was to procure Intelligence of all secret Proceedings at Court, and how fit a Person he was to be consulted in a Difficulty, and to unravel Plots. You must understand, when the Prince and Duke return'd from *Spain*, they commented so upon the Proceedings of that Court in the Treaty, that the *Parliament* was full of Invectives and Resentments against it. *Inoiosa*, the *Spanish Ambassador* at our Court, hearing of this, he sets his Head on work, to make a Breach between the King and his *Parliament*; and likewise to set him against the Prince and the Duke, who, he knew well enough, were the main Persons concern'd. So with much ado at last, he gets an Opportunity (for he was never permitted to be in private

(195.)

Inoiosa's Plot against the Prince and Duke.

*There is a
a Copy of it
in Hacket.*
with the King, by reason of the jealousy the Prince and the Duke had of him) to convey a Paper privately into his Majesty's Hand, in which were Articles drawn against the Prince and Duke, and ill Surmises against the Parliament. The Prince and Duke's fomenting the Parliament at this time against Treasurer Cranfield, whom the King (as we said before) was very desirous to save, might, with some other suspicious Occurrences at this Juncture, confirm his Majesty's Jealousies.

(196.)
*The King
jealous of
the Prince
and Duke.*
And so far did this Contrivance prevail upon the King, that he grew fullen and thoughtful, and would entertain the Prince and Duke with no Discourse, but Riddles and broken Sentences, that like flashes of Lightning from a black Cloud, shew'd a Storm gathering within. Immediately they conclude all was not right; and upon Inquiry, they found, that the Spanish Secretary, and Maestro the Jesuit had been with the King, and that some of the Ambassador's House had made their Brags, That they had nettled the Duke, and that a Train would take Fire speedily, to blow up the Parliament. The King amidst his great Anxieties prepares

prepares to go to *Windsor*, thinking perhaps to leave his Cares behind him. So in the End of *April*, being *Saturday* in the Afternoon, he takes Coach, and his Son along with him, but makes some slight Pretence to leave *Buckingham* behind, as he was putting his Foot into the Coach. At that Tears burst from him, and he humbly requested his Majesty to tell him his Offence, that he might confess it, or clear himself: To which the King reply'd only (with a Sigh) *That he was the greatest Wretch living, to be forsaken of those that were dearest to him:* which Expressions drew Tears on both sides; but the King drove away for *Windsor*, and left the disconsolate Duke behind.

(197.)

Now the Lord Keeper was a Man that spar'd no cost for the best Intelligence he could purchase of Court Occurrences; and he would often say, *That without a deal of Money, it was impossible to be a Statesman.* And of this Accident, his Scout had brought the best Account he could from what he saw, for he heard little. So away he goes to the Duke, then all in Sorrow at *Wallingford-House*; and with much ado, gains admittance to him.

The Keeper's Advice to the Duke.

After solemn Protestations of the great Concern he had for him, and his earnest Desires to serve him, he begs of his Grace, that he would make haste for *Windsor*, and shew himself to his Majesty, before Supper was over; to carry himself withall the winning Ad-dreses imaginable, and to keep Night and Day close to his Person. For the Danger was, lest any one should get the King's Ear, and perswade him to dissolve the *Parliament*, and upon the Dissolution of it, get his Grace thrown into the *Tower*, and then God knows what might follow. Lose no time, I beseech your Grace (says he) and lock up this Advice in your Breast. The Duke, returning him hearty Thanks, posts away to *Windsor*, and comes there unexpected. To be sure he acquainted the Prince with the Occasion

The Prince consults the Keeper, who detects the whole Plot. of his coming: So that his Highness was early next *Monday* Morning at the Lord's House (before they sate) to speak with the Keeper. And taking him aside into a Lobby, he thanks him for the Counsel he gave *Buckingham*: 'And (says he) you that have gone thus far, may receive greater Thanks of us both, if you will spread open this

• this black Contrivance, which hath
• lost him the good Opinion of my Fa -
• ther, and I my self am in little better
• Condition. Sir (says the Keeper) let
• my Soul suffer for Falshood, if I know
• any more, than that some in the
• *Spaniſh Ambassador's House* have been
• preparing Mischief, and have infus'd
• it abour four Days since into his Ma-
• jesty. But the Curtain of Privacy is
• drawn before the Picture, that I cannot
• guess at the Colours. Well, my Lord
• (says the Prince) if that be the Picture-
• drawer's Shop, no Counsellor in this
• Kingdom is better acquainted than
• your self with the Works and the
• Workmen. I might have been (says
• the Keeper) and I am pang'd like a
• Woman in Travail, till I know what
• Mis-shapen Creature they are draw-
• ing. But your Highness and my Lord
• Duke, have made it a Crime to send
• unto that House, and they are afraid
• to do it who are commanded from
• his Majesty. It is a Month since I
• have forbidden the Servants of that
• House to come at me. But, says the
• Prince, *I will make that Passage open*
• *to you again without Offence, and en-*
• *terprize any way to bring us out of*
• *this*

'this Wood, wherein we are lost. Only
'before we part, keep not from me, how
'you came to know or imagine, that the
'Spanish Agents have charg'd Buck-
'ingham to my Father with high Mis-
'demeanors, or perhaps Disloyalty. I
'would hear you to that Point, that I
'may compare it with other Parcels of
'my Intelligence. Sir (says the Keeper)
'I will go on directly with you. An-
'other perhaps would blush, when I
'tell you with what Heifer I plow;
'but knowing mine Innocency, the
'worst that can happen, is to expose
'my self to be laugh'd at. Your High-
'ness has often seen the Ambassador's
'Secretary, *Don Francisco Carondelet*:
'I have discover'd him to be a Wanton,
'and a Servant to some of our *English*
(198.) 'Beauties, but above all to one of that
'gentle Craft in *Mark-Lane*. A Wit
'she is, and one that must be courted
'with News and Occurrences at Home
'and Abroad, as well as with Gifts.
'I have a Friend that brib'd her in my
'Name, to send me a faithful Convey-
'ance of such Tidings, as her *Para-*
'*mour Carondelet* brings to her. All
'I instructed the Duke in, came out of
'her Chamber. And she hath well
'earn'd

'earn'd a piece of Plate or two from
'me, and shall not be unrecompenc'd
'for this Service, about which your
'Highness doth use me, if the Drab
'can help me in it. Truly, Sir, this is
'my Dark Lanthorn, and I am not
'asham'd to enquire of a *Dalilah* to
'resolve a Riddle; for in my Studies
'of *Divinity*, I have glean'd up this
'Maxim, *Licet uti alieno Peccato;*
'tho' the Devil make her a Sinner, I
'may make good use of her Sin. *Tea,*
'(says the Prince merrily) *do you deal*
'*in such Ware?* In good faith, Sir (says
'the Keeper) I never saw her Face.
And so this Conference ended.

Since the Keeper had gone thus far
in this Intrigue, he was resolv'd to go
through with it, and to sift the Mat-
ter to the Bottom; which he knew
he should never be able to do, except
he had an Opportunity of pumping
the Secretary *Francisco*, who had (by
the Duke's Orders) been forbid the
Keeper's House above a Month since.
If he should meerly send for him, with-
out any pretence, it would look (he
thought) a little suspicious, and then
the Secretary would be much upon
the Reserve, and not open himself so
freely.

*A signal
Instance of
the Keeper's
Policy.*

freely. As the Keeper was musing upon this Difficulty, he chapt upon this lucky Thought: He orders his Purfiant Captain *Toothbie*, to seize upon an *English Priest* lodging in *Drury-Lane*, whom *Francisco* (as the Keeper knew) lov'd intirely. The poor Secretary, as soon as he heard of his Friend's Misfortune, was in a woful Taking, knowing the Law, and how severe the *Parliament* then sitting would be, if he should be brought to his Trial. He had been banish'd the Keeper's House long since, and he knew no body else, that was able to assist him in his Friend's behalf. Prest with these Difficulties, he saw it was no time, in a Matter of so great concern, to be over-modeft, and to stand upon Punctilioes: so he sent an humble Request to the Lord Keeper, to be admitted to him that Day, tho' he should never see his Face again. With a seeming Unwillingness, it was granted him; but then he must be very private, and not venture before eleven at Night, and then to come by the Back-door of the Garden, where a Servant should recieve him. So at his Hour he came, and at first sight of his Lordship breaks out,

out abruptly, That nothing but a Matter as dear unto him as his Life, should have forc'd him to break Rule, to offend his Lordship with his presence. And then in a very passionate manner he begs that he would obtain his Friend's Enlargement for him, who was newly taken up. And would you have me (says the Keeper) run such a Hazard, to set a Priest at Liberty, a Dead Man by our Statutes, when the Eye of the Parliament is so vigilant upon the Breach of Justice, especially in this kind, to the saddening of our Godly Men, who detest them that creep here out of Seminaries, above all Malefactors, because they come with an Intent to pervert them, who have liv'd in the Bosom of our Church. My Lord (says Francisco) let not the Dread of this Parliament trouble you; for I can tell you, if you have not heard it, that it is upon Expiration. By this means the Keeper was got into the Out-Works of the Project, and play'd so artificially with the Secretary, that he soon took the Main Fortress. He kept him with him till Two in the Morning; by which time he had pick'd out of him the Heads of all the Articles in the Paper convey'd before

fore into the King's Hand. And after this, to gratify him, he calls for the Pursivant (who was at hand) and orders him immediately to free the Priest, but upon this Condition, that he should cross the Seas that Day, or the next, that so he might secure himself from danger in what he had done: And then the Lord Keeper and *Don Francisco* parted with much shew of Love on both sides, each having compafs'd his Designs. By this time (I make account) my Reader cannot but smile, to see how dextrously the whole Bus'ness was manag'd; and how prettily and innocently too a Person of neat Wit may carry on his own Interest, when you would think he was earnest about another Man's Bus'ness; so consistent are two contrary Motions at the same time in Policy, as well as in the Workings of Nature.

*The Keeper
having di-
scover'd
Inoiosa's
Plot, ac-
quaints the
Prince with
it.*

Cabal. p.
300.

But to make an End of our Story: Soon as *Francisco* was gone, the Keeper fell to Recollecting the whole Conference that had pass'd between them. As fast as it occurr'd, he lay'd it down in Writing, and slept never a wink that Night, nor stirr'd out of the Room till Seven in the Morning; by

by which time he had drawn up a fair Copy of the whole Matter; which he presented to the Prince immediately in St. James's, and told him. *He had the Viper and her Brood in a Box.* Upon this the Prince was for posting away for Windsor: *Nay, Sir* (says the Keeper) *let your Highness be pleas'd to take my Petition along with you: Where is it?* says the Prince. *In my Mouth,* replies he: *for I humbly beg, that you will conceal me in all that I have done in this Matter; and as you tender my Life, to keep the Knowledge of this from your Father. I have committed two great Crimes in a Sworn Counsellor;* First, to search into the King's Counsels, which he would should not be opened; Secondly, when I have found them out, to discover them, tho' to your Highness. So the Prince parting with him, gave him assurance of Secrecy; and coming to Windsor, he shews Buckingham the Papers. After which, they both desire immediate Admittance to his Majesty, which being granted, they present the Writing to him. He read it all deliberately, and often stopping, would say, 'Tis well, very well; and an enlivening Spirit danc'd in his Eyes. Then he embrac'd

The King
is recon-
cil'd to the
Prince and
Duke.

brae'd his Son and *Buckingham*, protesting, he was very sorry, that a parcel of Traytors should ever make him jealous of them; but now that all was right again. *And that you may know* (says his Majesty) *how little you shall pay me for Reconciliation*, I ask no more, but to tell me who is your Engineer, that struck these Sparks out of the Flint, and lighted the Candle, to find the Groat that was lost. The Prince was silent, and the Duke vow'd he knew not the Author. Well (says the King) *I have a good Nostril, and will answer mine own Question; My Keeper had the main Finger in it; I dare swear it was he that bolted the Flower, and made it up into this Paist.* Sir (says the Prince) *I was precluded by my Promise not to reveal him, but I never promis'd to tell a lye for him: Your Majesty hath hit the Man.* And GOD do him good for it (says the King) *I need not tell you both what you ow him for his Service; and he hath done himself this Right with me, that I discern his Sufficiency more and more.* So by this Discovery the Keeper did not only do a signal Service to the Prince and Duke, but likewise to his Majesty; who 'tis ten to

to one had quarrelled out-right with his *Parliament*, had he not been thus convinc'd of his groundless Fears.

You may gather from these and some other Passages, in this Part of the Life, how prudent and how serviceable a Counsellor he was to his Majesty, and to his great Patron and first Raiser, the Duke of *Buckingham*. And now I am upon this Part of his Character, I will give you an Instance or two more of his Services to the Duke: by which put altogether, you may see how little he deserv'd the usage he afterwards receiv'd from his Hands.

In the Year 1622. the *Jesuits* had *The Countess of Bucking-*
made (what they very much coveted) *ham turns*
a Proselyte of the Countess of *Buck-*
ingham; and upon this the People were *a Papist.*
jealous that there was danger of the *Cypr. Ang.*
Duke's being influenc'd by his Mo-*p. 100.*
ther, and so that from the Duke, the
Contagion would seize his Majesty, and
at last from the King, spread it self
among the People. The Lord Keeper
saw plainly how these Conclusions af-
fected the People, and multiplied their
Discontents; which, for ought any one
knew, might gather such a Head, as to
prove fatal in the ensuing *Parliament*.

Therefore to secure his Majesty, and
 the Duke especially from being suspe-
 cted, he advises him thus. ‘It is time
 to let your Lordship know, That by
 the Countess your Mother’s Depart-
 ing from our Church, the Mouth of
 Clamour is open’d; That now the
 Recusants have a potent Advocate to
 plead for their Immunity, which will
 increase their Number. When this is
 bandy’d in the High and popular Court
 by Tribunitial Orators, what a Dust
 will it raise? Therefore to satisfy the
 People, your Mother must be invited
 or provoked to hear Debates between
 Learned Men, speaking to those Points
 of Controversy that have stagger’d
 her. Let her Ladiship bring her Cham-
 pions with her. Entertain her with
 many of these Conferences: let them
 be solemn as can be devis’d, the King
 himself being ever present at the Di-
 sputes; and the conflux of Great Per-
 sons, as thick as the Place will permit.
 Let your Lordship’s Industry and Ear-
 nestness be conspicuous, to catch at
 every Twig of Advantage, much more
 to give Applause to every solid Rea-
 son, which may bring your Mo-
 ther Home to a Sound Mind again.

(172.)
*The Keeper’s Advice
 to the Duke
 about his
 Mother.*

If

'If her Ladiship recovers of her Un-
'stableness by these Applications, you
'have won a Soul very precious to you,
'and will raise your self up into the
'Fame of a sincere *Protestant*. But
'if the Light within her be Darkness,
'and that she frustrate all Hopes of her
'Reparation, the Notice of your Lord-
'ship's pious Endeavours will fill the
'Kingdom with a good Report. The Laud, Wil-
Duke follows the Advice; the Con- liams and
ferences are set on foot, and his Ma- White dis-
jesty was Superintendent at them. Fisher the
Fisher the Jesuit being the Lady's
Champion; he was oppos'd strongly
by Dr. *White*, then Dean of *Carlisle*,
but especially by Dr. *Laud* (as may be
seen by the Controversy publish'd af-
ter) Bishop of *St. David's*; and the
Lord Keeper (says his cold Friend Dr.
Heylyn) put in a Word or two some-
times: But if we credit Bishop *Hacket*,
in the Second Conference, the Lord
Keeper manag'd a Formal Dispute
with *Fisher*, as *White* did in the First,
and *Laud* did in the Third. And why
we have nothing of his extant con-
cerning this Controversy (as we have
from both the other) Bishop *Hacket*
gives us no Reason; except we will
Cypr. Anz.
p. 101.

be satisfy'd with what he says of the Keeper in another place, and upon another Occasion; *That he never wrote any thing with Intention to let the World see it, unless necessity constrain'd him.*

(35.)

(173.)

But for all the great Abilities and Learning of the Disputants on our side, the Lady remain'd still unconverted; nevertheless the Duke gain'd his Point, and the Event was as the Keeper foretold it.

What I am going to mention next, if remembred by my Reader when he comes to the next Part, will give some small Insight into the Reasons of his declining in the Duke's Favour: For tho' it was on the Keeper's side a sincere piece of Friendship, yet 'tis a Question whether the Duke took it as such. *Buckingham*, you know very well, had a Grudge against *Spain*; to satisfy which he must needs make War upon it. All that he wanted was Money, to maintain the War; and he saw no speedy way of raising such vast sums as he needed, but by compassing the sale of some of the Crown-Lands;

(202.)
*The Keeper
dissuades
the Duke
from sell-
ing the
Crown-
Lands.*

which he was resolv'd to endeavour. The Keeper was at this time newly recover'd from a desperate Fever and Flux,

Flux, and durst not venture Abroad; therefore so soon as he heard what dangerous Courses the Duke was falling into, he sends him the following Letter, dated Octob. 21. 1623.

May it please your Grace,

' I Hear a Whispering, rather than a
' Report, out of *Westminster-Hall*,
' that some great Alteration is presently
' to be made of the small Remainder
' of his Majesty's or rather the Crown-
' Land. Altho' I know not certainly,
' being unemploy'd and unprofitable,
' whether I ought to take notice hereof
' at all, or what to advise; yet pre-
' suming upon that Favour I have ever
' found, and of late, as much as ever
' with your Grace, I have sent you
' this Ticket to read and burn. If
' there be any Resolution taken for the
' general Alteration of the Crown-
' Lands, yet this is not a convenient
' time to go about it.

' *First*, Because there is not yet a Lord
' Treasurer, that it may be Christned to
' be his Act.

' *Secondly*, Because it hath not been
' debated at the Council-Table; for

' want of whose Advice, it will be ap-
' propriated to be your Grace's Act.

' *Thirdly*, It cannot be ripe for Exe-
' cution, till the next Session of *Par-*
' *liament* is dissolved; for otherwise it
' will undoubtedly serve as an Excuse
' for not granting Subsidies.

' But setting those considerations of
' Delay aside, I humbly desire your
' Grace, that no Universal Alteration
' may be made of the Tenure of the
' Crown-Lands.

' And *First*, Because the Money got
' thereby will be much, and will in-
' stantly be gone.

' *Secondly*, The Infamy in *Chronicles*
' will be eternal upon our most Gra-
' cious Master.

' *Thirdly*, The Prince cannot cordi-
' ally assent thereunto; or if he do, it is
' impossible (his Wisdom considered)
' but that hereafter he should repent
' him, and much abhor the Authors and
' Actors of this Counsel.

' *Lastly*, If the Prince should be of
' the same Mind with his Father, yet
' their Successors will have good pre-
' tences to prosecute everlastingly the
' Names and Posterities of all such Ad-
' visers.

Nor

Nor did the Freedom of the Keeper's Advice rest here; for when the Duke was much about the same time (in prosecution of his Designs to raise Money) set on to procure a sale of some Church-Lands, he then came out of his Chamber, to dissuade his Lordship from it by all means. But altho' the Keeper prevail'd for the present with his Arguments, yet one may reasonably conclude, he got but little Good-will at the bottom from the Duke for all his Pains: for Great Men generally take wholsom Counfels, as one would a bitter Draught: We cannot help making four Faces at it, tho' we know it is for our Good. And thus I have done with the Keeper, consider'd in every Respect as a Statesman. And I shall only add a few Things more, that happen'd towards the latter end of King James's Reign, which to avoid Confusion I am forc'd to insert here by themselves.

The peaceful Reign of King James drew toward a Conclusion; when the Treaty about the Marriage with France was first set on foot. The Business had gone on for some time, before the L. Keeper's Advice was sought for. Nevertheless,

vertheless, as he studied the *Spanish* Language during that Negotiation, so now he took a *Frenchman* to be his Servant, and to assist him in attaining

The Keeper gets our Liturgy translated into French.

(210.)

Treaty he had order'd a Translation of our Liturgy into *Spanish* by *Taxeda*, and printed it at his own cost; so now he got it turn'd into *French* by Mons. *Delaun*, Minister then of the *French* Church in *Norwich*. The Ambassadors to our Court from *France* were the Marques *Fiatte*, the Great Finner, and Monsieur *Villoclare*, one of the Principal Secretaries. They had Audience from the King at *Cambridge*; who (after their Return to *London*) sent a Message to the L. Keeper to entertain them and their Train, upon the Wednesday following; which (according to their Computation by the *New Style*) was *Christmas Day* with them. So

The Keeper entertains the French Ambassadors.

the Keeper sent to invite them to Sup with him: And the Entertainment was prepar'd in the *Jerusalem-Chamber* at *Westminster College*. But before Supper, he gave them first an *Episcopal Collation*; for the Ambassadors with all their Attendance were brought in at the North-Gate of the Abby, which was

was stuck with Torches every where within and without. At the Door of the Quire, the Keeper desir'd their Lordships to go in, and seat themselves for a while, assuring them that nothing should be done that might be in the least offensive to them. So the Ambassadors with their Train fill'd the Stalls, where they continued about half an Hour, while Choiristers in their richest Habits, sung three Anthems; during which time they all stood un-cover'd, excepting Monsieur *Villoclare*.

While a Verse was playing, the Keeper Presents
them with
our Litur-
gy, presented the Ambassadors, and those of the best Quality that were with them, with our Liturgy in their own Language; saying at the Delivery of the Books, 'That their Lordships at their Leisure might read in that Book, in what Form of Holiness our Prince worship'd G o d; wherein he durst say, nothing favour'd of any Corruption of Doctrine, much less of Heresy, which he hoped would be so reported to the Lady Princess *Henrietta*. After this, when they went out, they took all their Books along with them, except *Villoclare*, and his was brought after him, as if he had forgot it.

There

*An Abbot
has the Cu-
riosity to be
present at
our Divine
Service.*

(211.)

*And he ap-
proves of
our Wor-
ship.*

There was at this Time present a Gentleman that held an Abbacy in a Lay-Capacity; who, after he had read over our *Prayer-Book*, had a great Mind to be present in *Westminster Abby*, upon *Christmas Day* in the Morning, that he might see and hear how we solemniz'd that great Feast, for which we were so much blam'd Abroad. Whereas our *Common-Prayer Book*, tho' it was not imbroidered so thick with Ceremonies, yet he thought it wanted not such as might give a Decency to our Service. But least he might give Offence to any of his own Party, he desir'd he might be plac'd where no Body could see him, and that he might have an Interpreter of the Liturgy to assist him. The Lord Keeper was forward to meet him in his Request; and a place was contriv'd a-loft for him, with a Lattice and Curtains to conceal him. His Lordship perform'd all the Service of the Day himself, that it might be done with greater Decency. And after, when they came to discourse about it, the Abbot said, he perceiv'd that we had been basely traduc'd, and that all he had heard of us was false. 'And tho'

I

' I deplore your Schism (says he) from
' the *Catholick Church*, yet I should
' bare false Witness, if I did not confess,
' that your Decency, which I observ'd
' at that holy Duty, was very allowable
' in the Consecrator and Receivers.
So, after some further Conferences
upon these Matters, they parted with
mutual Smiles and Embraces. I have
dwelt the longer upon this Narration,
to shew not only the Credit that
was done to our Church and Liturgy
by the Keeper, but likewise to let my
Reader see, what little Reason there is
to suspect him for one that stood not
well affected to our Church Discipline.

(212.)

As the Court of *Spain*, during the
Treaty with them, took the Oppor-
tunity of Mediating in behalf of the
Papists in England; so likewise now
Mr. *Villoclare* (a great Zealot) was set
on by them, to make large and unre-
asonable Demands in Favour of them, and
to press the granting of his Requests
home, as one of the main Conditions to
compleat the Match. The Courtiers
perceiving the Eagerness of *Villoclare*
to obtain his Ends, and being not will-
ing to expose themselves to his Displea-
sure, shifted him off from themselves,
and

*Villoclare petitions
for Immuni-
ties for
the Papists.*

(213.)

and told him, That they could give no positive Answer to his Demand, till he had spoken with the L. Keeper, whose Duty it was to examine such things upon his peril, which were fit, or not fit for the King's Conscience, Honour and Safety, before the Great Seal were

*The Conference is all
in Bishop Hacket, p.
213, to 222.* put to any Thing. And this gave occasion to the Famous long Debate be-

tween the Keeper and the *French Ambassador*, wherein the Keeper gave him such solid Reasons against the Dispensing with our Penal Laws against *Romish Priests*. A Copy of which Conference the King order'd the Keeper to draw up for him; which he did accordingly, it being the last Present he made him in that kind. Which Papers, when his Majesty had perus'd them, gave him (as he us'd to say) more Satisfaction than he could have expected.

The King falls sick. The King now perceiving some Indisposition in his Health, retires to *Theobalds* for fresh Air, and to divert himself from Bus'ness. On Tuesday, being the 22. of *March*, the L. Keeper receiv'd Notice in a Letter from the Court, that it was fear'd his Majesty's Sickness was Mortal. Upon this he comes

comes to *Theobalds*, and presenting himself before the King, he endeavour'd to divert him, and bring him to chearful Discourse, but all in vain. So he continued by his Bed-side till Mid-night, but found no comfort. And next Morning, after the Consultation of the *Physicians*, he saw no hopes at all left; so that immediately (like a faithful Chaplain) he desir'd of the Prince, that he might acquaint his Father with his weak Condition, and *put him in Mind both of his Mortality and Immortality*. And having the Prince's Consent, he went into his Majesty's Chamber; and kneeling down, told his Majesty, 'That he knew 'he should neither displease him, nor 'discourage him, if he brought *Isaiah's Message to Hezekiah*, to set his House 'in order; for he thought his Days 'to come would be but few in this 'World. *I am satisfied* (replies the King) *and I pray you assist me to make me ready to go away hence to CHRIST, whose Mercies I call for, and I hope to find them.* From this time the Keeper watch'd with his Majesty continually, and never so much as put off his Cloaths, to go to Bed, till after his

*The Keeper
attends
him.*

*Adver-
tises him of
his Death.*

and told him, That they could give no positive Answer to his Demand, till he had spoken with the L. Keeper, whose Duty it was to examine such things upon his peril, which were fit, or not fit for the King's Conscience, Honour and Safety, before the Great Seal were

*The Conference is all
in Bishop Hacket, p.
213, to 222.* put to any Thing. And this gave occasion to the Famous long Debate between the Keeper and the *French Am-*

bassador, wherein the Keeper gave him such solid Reasons against the Dispensing with our Penal Laws against *Romish Priests*. A Copy of which Conference the King order'd the Keeper to draw up for him; which he did accordingly, it being the last Present he made him in that kind. Which Papers, when his Majesty had perus'd them, gave him (as he us'd to say) more Satisfaction than he could have expected.

The King falls sick. The King now perceiving some Indisposition in his Health, retires to *Theobalds* for fresh Air, and to divert himself from Bus'ness. On Tuesday, being the 22. of *March*, the L. Keeper receiv'd Notice in a Letter from the Court, that it was fear'd his Majesty's Sickness was Mortal. Upon this he comes

comes to *Theobalds*, and presenting himself before the King, he endeavour'd to divert him, and bring him to chearful Discourse, but all in vain. So he continued by his Bed-side till Mid-night, but found no comfort. And next Morning, after the Consultation of the *Physicians*, he saw no hopes at all left; so that immediately (like a faithful Chaplain) he desir'd of the Prince, that he might acquaint his Father with his weak Condition, and *put him in Mind both of his Mortality and Immortality*. And having the Prince's Consent, he went into his Majesty's Chamber; and kneeling down, told his Majesty, 'That he knew 'he should neither displease him, nor 'discourage him, if he brought *Isaiah's* 'Message to *Hezekiah*, to set his House 'in order; for he thought his Days 'to come would be but few in this 'World. *I am satisfied* (replies the King) *and I pray you assist me to make me ready to go away hence to CHRIST, whose Mercies I call for, and I hope to find them.* From this time the Keeper watch'd with his Majesty continually, and never so much as put off his Cloaths, to go to Bed, till after his

*The Keeper
attends
him.*

*Adver-
tises him of
his Death.*

144 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

(223.) his Royal Master's Death; which was visible enough in his Looks, on Sunday Night, when he return'd to *Westminster*. His whole Bus'ness was Night and Day (except when the *Physicians* compos'd his Majesty to Rest) to pray, and read, and to discourse about Repentance, Faith, Remission of Sins, Resurrection, and Eternal Life. This was the Preparation on Wednesday, for the Blessed Sacrament on Thursday. Upon Friday his Majesty grew sensibly weaker; so that now the Keeper stir'd very little out of the Chamber, and that not only to comfort the departing King, but likewise to keep off some of the *Romish* Church, that crept much about the Chamber-door; whom as a Privy-Counsellor he commanded to keep at greater Distance. Being rid of these, he was now continually in Prayer, while the King linger'd on; and at last his Soul departing, the Keeper clos'd his Eyes with his own Hands. Thus died King *James* at *Theobalds*, on the 27th of March, being Sunday. From thence his Body was brought to *Somerset-House*, and carried thence in great State, on Saturday the 7th of May to *St. Peter's Church in West-*

*The King
dies..*

*Cypr.Ang.
p. 130.*

An. 1625.

Westminster, where it was solemnly
interr'd: And the Funeral Sermon The Text
was out
of the II
Chron.
c. 9. v. 29.
preach'd by the Lord Keeper Williams,
and printed not long after, by the Name of Chron.
30. & part
of 31.
of Great-Britain's Solomon.

Thus I have at last brought the L. of 31.
Keeper Williams through great Honours, and much Fatigue and Bus'ness
to the Period at once of King James's
Reign, and his own Prosperity. And
(if the Living Man may with any reason complain) well had it been for him
too, had he never liv'd to see those
Days, which the following Scene will
represent to my Reader.

The End of the Second Part.

K

An

*An Account of his Fall, and
his Troubles.*

PART III.

*The sever-
ity of the
L. Keeper's
Fortune.*

IF so be that outward Things and Circumstances (which, because they are not in our Power, should therefore be look'd upon as not belonging to us) are of any real Force to render a Wise and a Great Man, either Happy or Miserable; I should count him of all Men, the most wretched, that is cast down from the height of Prosperity into an adverse Fortune, there to entertain himself with the ungrateful Reflexion of what (to his Sorrow now) he had once been: And I should think him to be envied for his Happiness, who after much Toil and Trouble in the Beginning, and all unusual Discouragements, did at the last by the meer Force and Strength of his own undaunted Resolution and Cou-

Courage break (like the *Sun* from a Cloud) through all Oppositions, and surmount all Difficulties. For the Remembrance of a Danger past, and overcome, must be as grateful to us, as the Apprehension of one to come, is terrible. So that if the Lord Keeper *Williams* had been a Man capable of being dejected, he lay under all the Disadvantages in the World. For, at his first setting out, from the Time he came to *Cambridge*, quite to the End of King *James's* Reign, Fortune seem'd to Court him all along, and to gratify him in every Thing; whereas now (tir'd, one would think, with her over-fondness of him before) she treats him with all the hard Usage, as if she had mark'd him out, to give all Men in him a notorious proof of her great Inconstancy. But before we give an Account of his Troubles, it will be but convenient to look back a little into the former Reign, and try if we can search into the Springs of *Buckingham's* Hatred to him, which was the first and principal Cause of his overthrow.

We have had occasion before to hint how fickle *Buckingham* was, and how apt to fall out with his greatest Fa-

The Reasons of Buckinghams Breach with Williams.

vourites: The Reason of which in all probability was his great Desire to oblige every Body; upon which Account he would often be making such Requests for others, to those he had rais'd to any Office, as they could not grant either in Honour or Justice. And thus he was often wont to trouble the Lord Keeper, who never resisted any of his Commands, when he could safely and honestly obey them; as appears from what he writ to him about the Cause of Sir John Michel,

Cabal. p.
291.

Aug. 8. 1622. GOD is my Witness, I have never denied either Justice or Favour (which was to be justified) to this Man, or any other, that had the least Relation to your good and most Noble Mother; and I hope your Lordship is perswaded thereof.

(108.)
*And the Countess, his Mother, hath been heard to say,
That the Lord Keeper had sufficient
Reason sometimes not to comply with
her Son: and that she never knew him
disagree, but that his Counsels were
wise, and well grounded; ever tend-
ing to the Marques's Honour, Safety
and Prosperity. But then, that he
often offended her Son with Repre-
hensions, that were too bold and ve-
hement.*

hement. And, indeed, it was his Humour to be very angry with his best Friends, when they would not be perswaded to their own Good. So that it was neither height of Spirit, nor yet Pride, that made him odious to those that rais'd him; but rather his Honesty in not permitting them to attain to those Ends by him, which they unjustly requir'd of him. And this was the Occasion of *Buckingham's Quarrel* against him; who before the End of *Michaelmas Term* in the Year 1622. (when *Williams* had not been above a Twelve-month in Office) let fall some Expressions of his Disliking to the Lord Keeper, and was in his Looks very much alter'd towards him. All which the Keeper took no notice of, but prudently affected to seem ignorant of the whole Matter; for the only way to exasperate an Adversary is to let him know, that you look upon him as such; whereas if you treat him as a Friend, 'tis possible he may be gain'd upon.

As the Lord-Keeper declin'd in the good Opinion of the Duke, so Bishop Laud, he grew more and more every day in Favour; insomuch that when

*Wilfson.
Hist. of Gr.
Brit. p. 196.*

(197.)

*The Occa-
sion of the
Falling out
betwixt
Laud and
Williams.
Cypr. Ang.
p. 113,*

150 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

Buckingham went over into *Spain* with the Prince, he left the Bishop to be his Agent at Court. These Accidents, together with Mis-understandings, and Mis-representations on both sides from Tale-bearers and Busie-bodies, seem to have given the first occasion to those Jealousies and Heats, that afterwards arose betwixt these Two great and unfortunate Prelates. And since we are at best left but to our Guesses in this matter (it being so diversly represented, as Passion or Interest sways) it were but Modesty as well as Justice (due to such sacred Memories) in us, at this distance of time, to search no farther, but to be charitable in our surmises, so long as we are certain, from the main History of both their Actions, that they were Men good and serviceable in their Generation. And to what purpose should we keep their Names at Enmity here upon Earth, who we may be sure, are long since join'd in mutual Peace and Love in Heaven; where seeing one another's Thoughts by Intuition (which prevents all Mistakes) they conclude that nothing but this Gross Veil of Flesh

*See Whar-
ton's Pre-
face, and
Bishop
Laud's Di-
ary at
Octob 3.
1623.*

Flesh could have so disguis'd their Sentiments, as to make them seem at Variance, when at the same time they drove both with all their Might to the same great End, Namely the Glory of God and the Establish'd Happiness of our Church and Nation.

But to proceed in our Discovery of the Duke's Resentments towards the Keeper. When his Grace was in *Spain*, it is not to be doubted but the Lord-Keeper's Letters of Instruction, tho' Well Design'd, were not so well taken: and his often Desiring and Advising him to be Reconcil'd

A further Account of the Duke's Hatred to Williams Cabal.
(147-150.)

^{p. 97.}
to the Earl of *Bristol*, (one that he ever hated) and to proceed according to his Counsels, as being a Most able States-Man, but above all others Experienc'd in the Court of *Spain*; this went much against the Grain with the Duke, and the Keeper might as well have told him, that *Bristol* was a Wiser Man than his Grace.

At this very time too it was told the Duke (but upon what Grounds I find no where) that *Williams*, his Creature, made it his Business now in his Absence to Undermine him with

152 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

(108) his Majesty. Whereas the quite contrary is Evident, in that the Keeper endeavour'd all he could to excuse his Miscalcarriages in *Spain*, and to preserve him Intire in the King's [18] (148) Favour. But indeed he did drive on a Design quite contrary to *Buckingham's* towards the latter end of the *Treaty*: For the Duke strove all he could to Dissolve it, and the Keeper, according to his Maiefsty's Commands, Studied Night and Day how to farther it and bring it to Perfection. And in truth the first Accusation that *Buckingham* laid to his Charge about this Matter was, that his Lordship had told the King, who those Gentlemen were, that importun'd his Grace by their Expresses sent into *Spain*, to break or hinder the Treaty to the utmost of his Power; of which Suspicion the Keeper protested upon his Salvation that he was not Guilty. And when the Earl of *Rutland* (the Duke's Father in Law) undertook to clear the Keeper from this Objection, the Answer that his Grace return'd was this, *Whensoever I disagree with him, he will prove himself to be in the Right; and tho' I could never*

never Detect him hitherto to be Dishonest, I am afraid of his Wit. At which Answer I admire, when I consider, that all the Keepers Letters to the Duke about this time and before, are full of the most sincere and hearty expressions of Love and Service. *Let Cabal. God (says he) suffer me no longer to p. 286. be, than I shall be True, Plain, Faithful and Affectionately Respectful of your Lordship.* And in a Letter Dated Feb. Cabal. 2. 1623. he says, *I never harbour'd in p. 298. this Breast one Thought of Opposition to hurt your Grace, from the first Hour I saw your Face:* But how Honest and True soever the Keeper might be, yet the Duke was highly Jealous of him; and this the Keeper knew very well, who was assur'd that my Lord Cabal. Mandevil had a Letter from Spain, p. 299. signifying, that the first Action his Grace would Imbark himself in, when he came over, should be to Displace the Keeper. Add to this, that after [18] the Prince and Duke came over into (167, 168.) England, Williams lost yet more of the Duke's Favour, by declaring his Opinion in some Consultations quite contrary to his Grace. And he Vow'd at the same time, as he should have

*See The
Lord-Kee-
per's Let-
ters in the
Cabala.*

(168.) God to be his Protector, that he would suffer all the Obloquy of the World, before he would be drawn to the least Ingratitude against his Lordship; but when the King ask'd his Judgment he must be True and Faithful. For which Loyalty and rigid Honesty the Duke defied the Keeper to his Face, and Threatned his Ruin in the Presence of Many. And if he promis'd an ill Turn to any one he would be sure to make his Words good, if he could. But the King was so Conscious of the Lord Keeper's Worth and great Abilities, that during his Reign the Duke's Displeasure could avail nothing to his Ruin, tho' he had several times attempted it; And his Majesty's Orders were, that they should both Agree and Unite jointly in their Services for him.

[5]

*Some other
probable
causes of
the Duke's
hatred a-
gainst the
Keeper.*

(168.)

There remains unmention'd yet a little accident or two, that perhaps might sharpen the Duke's Resentments something more. It was I believe the harshest Expression that his Majesty ever us'd concerning *Buckingham*, (whom it touch'd to the Quick) what he spake to the Earl of *Carlile* in a Malancholy Mood, That

if

Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI.
p. 125.

if he had sent *Williams* into *Spain* with his Son, he had kept Heart's-Ease and Honour, both which he wanted at that time. And it was taken as no small indignity by his Grace, that, the first time the Lord Keeper came into the King's Presence, after his Highnesse's Return into *England* (which was a little before *Christmas*) his Majesty looking Intently upon him, said thus to the Prince, *Charles there's the Man that makes us keep a merry Christmas.* His Highness looking as if he understood not his Father; *Why. 'tis he* (says the King) *that Labour'd more Dextrously than all my Servants beside to bring you safe hither, to keep Christmas with me, and I hope you are sensible of it.* And after this, in *Christmas* Time his Majesty of his own accord, without any Solicitation caus'd an Act of Council to be Entred, That the Arch-Bishoprick of *York* should be Confer'd upon him at the next Vacancy. For which the Lord Keeper most humbly thank'd his Majesty, *That he was Pleas'd to think of him, when his Majesty knew best, that he thought not of himself.* This to be
sure

sure was not taken well by the Duke, who thinking that *Williams* began now to rise without his help, was resolv'd, if possible, to pull him down: which we may reasonably conclude, from what this Great Favourite told Sir Fr.

Da.Lloyd's Bacon, when he advanc'd him: *That Life of Ar. Williams.* *if he did not owe his Preferment always to his Favour, he should owe his Fall to his Frown.*

*The Kee-
per's Ene-
mies not
able to hurt
him in K.
J. Reign.*

(190, 191,
192, 194.)

Rush. Coll.
P. 167.

These are the Principal Reasons, that I can meet with, of *Buckingham's* Breach with *Williams*, which made him endeavour his Ruin, and set others to effect the same in the Time of King *James*; but all to no purpose, for then the Keeper's Interest was so strong at Court, and his Worth so well known, that all Attempts against him were but like High Winds to a sturdy Oak, by the malicious Assistance of which it takes deeper Root. But what *Buckingham* could not compass with the Father, he soon obtain'd under the Son;

(a thing very rare) that the great Favour he had with the former King, should now be doubled upon him by his Successor. Having thus clear'd my way before me, I go on to what con-

concerns the Lord Keeper in this new Reign.

Our Constitution allowing of no Cessation in the Government, and for that Reason looking upon the King as Immortal; Immediately upon the Death of King *James*, *Charles the First* was proclaim'd King; who in the Evening on the same Day came from *Theobalds* to *St. James's*. And the Day following he sent for the L. Keeper, to him; who found his Majesty and the Duke of *Buckingham* involv'd in a multiplicity of Affairs; with whom, together with Bishop *Laud* the King consulted much in all the great Concerns both of Church and State. At this Time the Keeper was appointed to preach the Funeral Sermon of the Deceas'd King, and order'd too to provide a Sermon for the Coronation; but (it seems) before that Time his Majesty's Mind was alter'd in that Point. But the Chief Object of this present Consultation was the *Parliament*: and the King (desiring to have it fit speedily) was for issuing out no Writs to call a New one, but for continuing that, which met last in his Father's Time, and was prorogu'd till Spring

[4.]

March 27.
An. 1625.
Frankl. p. 107.
Frankl. p. 108.
The Keeper's Advice to the King about the Parliament.

The Keeper's Advice taken ill.

[5.]

Spring. Upon this the Lord Keeper informed his Majesty, that the Old Parliament was dissolv'd of course by his Death, who first assembled them. Since therefore there must of Necessity be a New Choice, the King commanded the Keeper to send out Writs immediately, and not to lose a Day. To this the Keeper objected, That if such a hasty Summons were made, before his Majesty's best Friends and Servants had time to make their Interest in their respective Counties, Cities and Burroughs, they might be in danger of not being elected. But the King answer'd, *It was high time to have Subsidies granted, for maintaining of a War with the King of Spain, and the Fleet must go forth for that purpose in the Summer.* His Lordship durst not venture to contradict any further, because he knew not how it might be taken: But his Approbation of the King's Proposal was utter'd after so cold a Manner, that his Majesty turned away, and gave him leave to be gone. Nor did the King consult the Keeper at all about the Match now in Hand with France; and the Duke began to draw off from holding any Conference with

with him. So that from all these Prognosticks the Keeper could not choose but foresee, there was a Storm a gathering.

But he did not imagine, that his Plain-dealing would turn so soon to his Prejudice; for within two Days after news was brought him, that my Lord Duke had threaten'd in the presence of several to turn him out of his Office: And the French Ambassadors were some of the first that gave him notice of it. These things plainly intimated, that his Down-fall was not far off. And so apprehensive was he of it, that he gave warning to those that had any Dependance upon him, to make their Interest elsewhere, for his Service would soon stand them in no stead.

But as yet he kept his Place. And one of the first things he was employ'd about was, to send forth his Majesty's Warrant for a suspension of Laws against the *Papists*, upon the Account of the Marriage with *France*. The Keeper saw, that it was not his time either to give his Advice, or to scruple his Majesty's Orders. But yet he made bold to interpose with his Advice soon after

[6.]
He is ordered to pass two Warrants.

May 1.
I. Car.

[7.]

But he stops onz.

May 23. after this, when he had a Warrant from his Majesty, to pass a Grant under the Great-Seal, for two Thousand Pounds, out of the Court of Wards, to my Lord Conway, for 21 Years to come. *The which I durst not* (says he) *for fear of infringing my Duty to your Majesty, and drawing some Danger upon my self, pass under the Great-Seal, before I had made to your most Excellent Majesty my most humble Representation of the Thing.* So the Reasons he gave with much ado prevail'd; but he made the Lord Conway his Enemy by this piece of Service.

[8.] Rush. Coll. Now the Parliament meets at Westminister, and the King makes a Speech to them, *About the War for the Recovery of the Palatinate, wherein the last Parliament had ingag'd his Father; and for the Carrying on of which he wanted their Assistance.* After this, the Lord Keeper Williams made a very pertinent Speech to the same purpose; and not the Lord Keeper Coventry, as two of our great Collectors have mistaken: for Williams was not displac'd till some time after.

Frankl. & Rushw. The Lord Keeper Coventry, as two of our great Collectors have mistaken: for Williams was not displac'd till some time after.

The

The Plague at this time raging in [13.] *London* and *Westminster*, his Majesty was for having the *Parliament* adjourn'd to *Oxford*; and *Buckingham* was for forwarding this Motion, but *Williams* appear'd against it; saying, [14.] That it was not another Place but another Time, that must do his Majesty's Bus'ness for him. And the Pe-
*The Keep-
ers Rea-
sons for not
Adjourn-
ing the Par-
liament to
Oxford.*
stilence had overspread the whole Land, so that no Man that travell'd knew where to lodge in safety; for which reason the Lords and Gentle-
men would not take it kindly to be forc'd abroad in such a mortal Time; and 'tis likely when they come together, that they will Vote out of Dis-
content and Displeasure. That his Majesty was ill advis'd to give Of-
fences, tho' small ones, in the beginning of his Reign. In the next place, it is to be considered, that the *Parliament* hath given two Subsidies at *Westminster*; and tho' they remove to *Oxford*, yet it is the same Session: and if they alledge that it is not usual for the House to give twice in a Session, (tho' I wish heartily they would) yet how shall we perswade them, out of their Custom, if they insist upon

He acquaints the King of the Duke's E- ‘it? And it is not prudent in the King to run a probable hazard of a Denial. To all this the Duke replied, *That publick Necessity might sway more than one Man's Jealousie.* Hereupon the Keeper requested, that he might speak a few Words with the King in private; which being granted, he told his Majesty, *That the Lord Duke had Enemies in the House of Commons, who had contriv'd Complaints, and made them ready to be prefer'd, and would spend the time at Oxford about them.* And what Folly it were to continue a Session, that had no other Aim, but to bring the Duke upon the Stage? But if your Majesty think, that this is like a Heetick, quickly known, but hardly cur'd; my humble Motion is, that this Malady, or Malice (call it which you will) may sleep till after Christmas. For I hope to give such Account by that time, by undertaking with the chief Sticklers, that they shall supersede from their Bitterness against your great Servant; and that Passage to your weighty Counsels shall be made smooth and peaceable. And why do you conceal this from Buckingham? Says the King. Good Lord Sir (says the Keeper) fain I would begin at that End, but he will

will not hear me with Moderation. This discovery, which the Keeper made, 'tis thought, compleated the Duke's <sup>asperates
the Duke
against
him</sup> hatred against him, and hasten'd his

Ruin; for his Grace now grown very jealous, (as is natural for one in Danger) in Defiance bid the Keeper and his Confederates do their worst; and desir'd that the *Parliament* might be continu'd, that he might clear himself. So dangerous is it to shew a great Man his Ruin, tho' he stands just upon the Brink of it; because he looks upon the first Discoverer, very often, as the Author of it.

But the Duke carried his Point, and <sup>The Parl.
adjourn'd
at Oxford.</sup> the *Parliament* met at *Oxford*, on the first of *August*. On the very first Morning there was a Complaint made by a Western Knight, that he had seen a Pardon for six Priests, dated *July* the 12th: whereas on the 11th, the L. Keeper had promis'd in the King's Name before them all, that the Laws should be put in Execution against them. And for him, that was a Bishop, to set the Seal to such a Warrant; against his own profess'd Religion, was thought a burning shame. This Thing indeed was at first design'd to

[15.] insnare the Keeper, but it caught another. For the Warrant was brought twice to him, and he refus'd to pass it: At which the Duke of *Buckingham* mov'd the King, to command it to be seal'd in his sight at *Hampton-Court*: which when it came to be known, the *Odium* was taken off from the Keeper, and thrown upon the Duke.

*The Parl.
set against
the Duke.*

*The Kee-
per's Ad-
vice to him.*

[16.]

And now the Duke's great places and Eminent Titles glar'd too much; and the People could no longer bear, that one Man should be so overcharg'd with Honours. While the Parliament bore thus hard upon the Duke, the Keeper, out of his great Fidelity to his Grace, intruded upon him, with the following Advice. 'My Lord, I come to you unsent for; and I fear to displease you: yet because your Grace made me, I must and will serve you, tho' you are one that will destroy that which you made. Let me perish; yet I deserv'd to perish ten times, if I were not as earnest as any Friend your Grace hath, to save you from perishing. You have brought the Two Houses hither, my Lord, against my Counsel. My Suspicion is confirm'd, that your Grace would suffer

fusser for it. What's now to be done,
but to wind up a Session quickly? The
Occasion is for you; because two Col-
ledges in the University, and eight
Houses in the City are visited with
the Plague. Let the Members be
promis'd fairly and friendly, that
they shall meet again after *Christmas*.
Requite the Injury done to you with
Benefits, and not Revenge: For no
Man, that is wise, will shew himself
angry with the People of *England*.
Confer one or two of your great Places
upon your safest Friends; so shall
you go less in Envy, and not less in
Power. At the Close of this Session
declare yourself to be the forwardest
to serve the King and Common-
wealth, and to give the *Parliament*
Satisfaction. Fear them not, when
they meet again in the same Body;
whose ill Affections I expect to mi-
tigate: But if they proceed, trust me
with your Cause, when it is trans-
mitted to the House of Lords, and
I will lay my Life upon it, to preserve
you from Sentence, or the least dis-
honour. To this all the Duke re-
plied was, *I will look whom I trust to,* The Duke resents it.
and so flung out of the Chamber with

*The Keeper
begs the K.
not to dis-
solve the
Parlia-
ment.*

Threats in his Countenance. Immediately upon this, the Commons of this Parliament were censur'd at Woodstock, for Spiteful and Seditious: and therefore not fit to continue, but to be dissolv'd. The Keeper hearing this, did all he could with Arguments, Tears and Supplications, to put a stop to such Proceedings; desiring his Majesty to remember, 'That in his hearing, his 'Blessed Father had charg'd him to call 'Parliaments often, and continue them, 'tho' they might sometimes offend him. 'But chiefly, Sir (says he) let it never be said, that you have not kept good 'Correspondence with your first Parliament. And the Keeper had almost all the Lords of the Council of the same Opinion with him in this Point;

Rush. Coll. but Buckingham was against it, and so
p. 191. the King to preserve his Favourite, dissolv'd the Parliament on the 12th of August.

[17.] *The Duke
jealous of
the Keeper.* The Duke was jealous that the L. Keeper was all along at the Bottom of the Proceedings against him in Parliament, and therefore now he charg'd him with it; and this Suspicion of Baseness and Ingratitude was so far credited by some, that they have not fail'd

fail'd to deliver it for a truth in Writing, to the great Detriment of his Good Name; did not the contrary evidently appear from a Paper, which he gave his Majesty on the 14th of August, an Abstract of which I shall give you here.

Reasons to satisfy your most Excellent Majesty concerning my Carriage all this last Parliament.

'FIRST, Negatively, That I did nothing disserviceably to your Majesty, or the Duke. Secondly, I did cross the Popular way, more than any of the Council; which I durst not have done, if I had intended to run along with them. Affirmatively, I offer'd my poor Service to your Majesty, to execute any Directions should be given me in private, and waited several times at several places upon your Majesty for that purpose; but my Answer still was, You had Nothing to say to me. I did the like to my Lord Duke at Oxford, desiring his Lordship to send me his Commands by any trusty Friend, and I would serve him to the utmost of my Power: his Grace said, He would

L 4

qsend

[18.]

send, but he never did. So that if I had any Power in either House, what use could I make of it, without Directions? For it was not safe for me to stickle, without Countenance from your Excellent Majesty; Because I know very well, I have a great many Enemies in the House, and those chiefly of the Duke's creating.. But nevertheless (I told the Duke) If I might hear your Majesty say, you would protect me in your Service, I would venture then my Credit, and my Life, to manage what should be entrusted to me, to the uttermost. After which he never brought me to your Majesty, nor any Message from you. Discountranc'd therefore in these and several other Points, and standing upon such doubtful Terms, I durst not at this time with any safety busy my self in the House of *Commons*, with any other than that measure of Zeal, which was exprest by the rest of the Lords of the *Privy-Council*. Gracious and Dread Sovereign, if this be not enough to clear me, let me perish.

These

These Reasons satisfied his Majesty,
and defer'd his Destiny for Two
months longer; tho' strong Interest
was made to have it compleated
now. Nor do I admire that the Duke
should be so very hot in the Pursuit
of this Man's Ruin, if what *Rush-
worth Relates* be true, that the Kee-
per at *Oxford* should tell *Bucking-
ham* to his Face, *That he was Re-
solv'd to Stand upon his own Legs*:
If that be your Resolution (said the
Duke) *Look you Stand fast*. But
since my Author quotes no Authori-
ty for this, and since all the Keeper's
Behaviour otherwise, and his Letters
to the Duke are full of the Humblest
Submission that can be exprest, and
shew not the least Resentments, I
leave my Reader to give what Cred-
it he thinks fit to this Narration.
But within a Fortnight after, about
the End of *August*, *Buckingham* at
Holdbery in New-Forest cast *Williams*
quite out of his Majesty's Favour;
and at *Plimouth* in the Midst of *Sep-
tember* got an Irrevocable sentence to
deprive him of his Office. If the
Queen could have befriended him,
he had stood still, for he was in

*His Ruin
deferr'd.*

P. 198.

*It could
not be in
May; as
Bishop
Hacket
Mistakes,
for she did
not Land
here till
the 16th
of June,
says Stow,
and others.*

[20.]

*The Keeper
accus'd of
Treachery
against the
Duke.*

Cypr, An-
gl. p. 139.

*And of gi-
ving ill
Counsel to
the King.*

*He clears
himself.*

Favour with her Majesty, by reason of the Speech, which he made to her in French at her coming to Whitehall. But it was impossible now for any thing to surmount the Importunity of the Duke, who was busy to invent some Charge to lay to the Keeper, that so he might at least have some Colour for all his Displeasure. And

in September, when the King with his Court came to Salisbury, the Keeper was then at Foxly in Berkshire, Five Miles from Windsor; where he had notice given him, that after strict Examination of all his Actions since he first came into Office, the Old Matter was Renew'd, about his Endeavouring to set the Parliament a-

gainst the Duke; which tho' only a jealous surmise, was yet affirm'd with all the Assurance of a substantial

Truth. And to Strengthen it the more, they Added to it, that he had given evil Counsel to his Majesty, by Advising him to condescend too much from his Sovereignty, to a Compliance with his People. Upon this the Keeper, being hardly recover'd of an Ague at that time, sends a Letter to his Majesty on the 21st of

Septem-

September, to clear himself from these Imputations ; which Letter if consulted, will satisfie an Impartial Person of the Keeper's great Integrity in the preceding *Parliament* both to the King and to the Duke. And [21.] when the Duke had seen the Letter, he perceiv'd his Accusations were much Invalided. Therefore to Reinforce them, he and his Party thought the most likely way to succeed would be, to acquaint his Majesty, that they could charge the Keeper with his own Words, and what was more, with his Letters : but then before Proofs were made, he must first be Displac'd, for so long as he continu'd in Office, People would be afraid to Accuse him. But the Keeper coming himself to *Salisbury* about the first week in *October*, and hearing this, desir'd, the King and the Duke might know, that he would Answer to any Accusation in a Legal way ; and that the World would soon see how Preposterous a way of proceeding it is first, to Punish and afterwards to Condemn : That the wrong done to him would soon startle others. For who that had

*The Letter
is in Bishop
Hacket,
but too long
to be tran-
scrib'd.*

*The Duke
attempts
another
Accusation
against the
Keeper.*

*But it
takes no
effect.*

*His Enem-
ies not a-
ble to
charge
him with
any Thing.
Non per-
petuus o-
lim fuit
honor
Cancellarii,
sed Trienna-
lis, vel qua-
driennalis.
Spelman.
Glofs.
See p. 74.*

*Court and
Ch.
p. 176.*

had any thing to lose would think himself secure upon such Precedents? And these Considerations made his Adversaries lay their imperfect Designs aside, and bethink themselves how to Plot better, if they meant to Succeed. After this the best way they could think of was, not to pretend to any Accusations, but to let his Majesty barely recall the Great Seal from his Custody; because it was given to him at first upon a Triennial Trust, and no longer; which was no unusual Thing. And he had himself made such a Request (if you remember) to King James, when he first entred upon his Office, that no Lord Keeper might be continu'd above 3 Years. So that his Enemies could lay no Accusations to his Charge, and all his Crime was their Hatred and Malice. And this Account of the Matter is confirm'd even by that great Dealer in Scandal, whom I have had occasion to mention so often; who says, *that Williams's Ruin was determin'd not upon any known Crime, but upon Circumstances and Examinations to pick out Faults committed in his whole Life time.* Which,

con-

considering the Person it comes from, is more to the Lord Keeper's commendation, than if an unprejudic'd Pen had declar'd him wholly Innocent; as indeed he was in his Behaviour both to his Majesty and to the Duke, which was the only Crime pretended against him.

On the 15th of October, The Lord [22.] Conway came to the Lord Keeper's Lodgings in Salisbury with this Message: *That his Majesty understanding The Lord Conway
acquaints the Keeper,
that it was the King's Order he
should give up the Seal.*
that his Father had taken a Resolution, that the Keeper of the Great Seal of England should continue but from Three Years to Three Years, and approving very well thereof, and being resolv'd to observe the Order during his own Reign, he expects that you should Surrender up the Seal by All-hallowtide next, alledging no other Cause thereof. And that having so done, you should retire your self to your Bishoprick of Lincoln. To which the Keeper answer'd; I am his Majesty's Most humble Servant and Vassal, to be Commanded by him in all Things whatsoever. The Great Seal is his Majesty's; and I will be ready to deliver up the same to any Man, that his

*The Kee-
per's An-
swer.*

'his Majesty shall send with his War-
'rant to require it: And do heartily
'thank God and his Majesty, that his
'calling for the Seal is upon no other
'Ground. Only this last Clause seem-
'eth strange to me, that I should be
'restrain'd to my Bishoprick, or any

*A further
conference
berwixt
the Lord
Conway
and the
Keeper.*

Place else. And I humbly appeal to
'his Majesty's Grace and Favour
'therein: Because it is no Fault in
'me, that his Majesty or his Father
'hath made such a Resolution. Nor
'do I dispute against it; although the
'King, that dead is, continu'd me in
'the Place after the Three Years en-
'ded; and the King, that now is, deli-
'ver'd me the Seal without any Con-
'dition or Limitation of Time. And
'therefore deserving no Restraint, I
'humbly desire to be left to my Dis-
'cretion, which I will so use as shall
'be no way Offensive to his Ma-
'jesty. To which the Lord Conway
'replied; *I conceive it not to be a
'restraint, but only to signify, that his
'Majesty intends not to employ you at
'the Table, but leaves you free to go to
'your Bishoprick.* My Lord (says the
'Keeper) I desire your favourable
'Intercession for an Explanation of
'that

'that Point. And I beseech your Lordship to move his Majesty, that I may attend upon him, to present unto his Majesty Two humble Petitions, the one concerning my Reputation, and the other my Maintenance; which I am the more confident his Majesty will admit of, because I vow before God, I am not Guilty of the least Offence against his Majesty, and am ready to make it good upon my Life. And I make the like Protestation for any Unworthiness done against the Duke; whose Hand peradventure may be in this Business. At parting my Lord Conway spake about the time of Resignation; and I said it was all one to me, sooner or later. Then I ask'd his Lordship if I was restrain'd from the Board before the delivering of the Seal? his Lorship answer'd, *He knew of no such Intent.* And so we parted.

'The next day after, waiting on [23.] his Majesty to Church by my Duty and Place; after Sermon was over, at the upper end of the Quire, the Lord Conway told me, *I have acquainted his Majesty how Obedient you*

you were to his Commands, and how willing to resign the Seal without any farther Dispute; and I have presented all your Requests to his Majesty; who answer'd to every particular as follows; concerning your Retiring he meant no Restraint of Place; but for some Questions that might be renew'd, and for some Considerations known to himself, he intended not to use your service at the Council-Table for a while. And for your Estate; you had no Wife and Children: And he intended not to Debar you from any of your Church Preferments, until he should provide you better, And he was content to admit you to speak with him when you pleas'd, provided you endeavour'd not to unsettle his former Resolutions.

*The Keeper
desires ad-
mittance to
the King.*

Upon the 18th of October, I desir'd Admittance to the King; and Mr. Tho. Cary sent me Word, 'His Majesty would speak with me the next Morning. But after Sermon, the King told my Lord Conway, that I had sent to him; and he was in a long and serious Discourse with him. Then my Lord Conway (the King being gone to dinner) follow'd me into the Cloister, and

and told me, That he conceiv'd his Majesty was afraid, that I would press him to give his Reasons, why he took the Seal from me, and caus'd me to abstain from the Board. But I answered, I should falsify my Word to his Lordship, if I should speak unto his Majesty upon any other Points, than those of my Reputation, and my Means. After this, the Keeper gave the Lord *Conway* a Letter (having first shew'd it to him) to present unto his Majesty, if he thought fit; wherein was a full Declaration of his Innocency, both with respect to his Majesty and the Duke, which he concludes thus; *If all these Informations against a poor Bishop, that so serv'd your Father in his Life, and at his Death, be grounded only upon Suspicion, Malice, or Misapprehension, and be cried down (as they needs must be) by all the Members of the one and the other House; pity me, Dread Sovereign; and let me retire with the comfortable Assurance of your Majesty's Favour, that I may spend my Days quietly in the Service of my GOD; in serving whom, as I resolve to do, I shall never fail to serve your Majesty; whom GOD Almighty prosper with all*

[24.]

M

Suc-

Success in this World, and with all Happiness and Eternal Glory in that to come.

[25.]
*The King
sends for
him to
come to
him.*

*The Kee-
per's Peti-
tions to the
King.*

After his Majesty had read the Letter, he sent for the Keeper, to make his Petitions, and to speak what he had to say to him. So his Lordship presenting himself before the King, his requests, together with his Majesty's Answers, were as they follow.

'First, he ask'd his Majesty's Grace
'and Favour in General. He granting
'it, gave him his Hand twice to kiss.
'2ly Says the Keeper, I humbly thank
'your Majesty for your gracious Pro-
'mise, to take away none of my Church
'Preferments, till you have given me
'better; and I beseech your Majesty
'to keep the same benevolent Mind
'towards me. The King replied, *It
is my Intention.* 3ly I beseech your
Majesty to remember your Father's
Promise, made before all the Lords,
that whensoever he took away the
Seal, he would place me in as good
a Bishoprick or Arch-Bishoprick as
he could: A Promise not only secon-
ded, but drawn from your Father first
by your Majesty. *There is no such Place
yet void (says the King) when any
falls,*

falls, then it will be time to make this Request to me. 4^{ly} I desire that I may not be commanded away from the Council-Table, but that my Absence may be left wholly to my own Discretion. I ever intended it so, and never said a word to the contrary; says the King) but then, I expect you would not offend by a voluntary Intrusion. 5^{ly} I beseech your Majesty to declare unto the Lords, that I have willingly and readily yielded to your Majesty's Pleasure, and that I part in your Favour and good Opinion, and am still your Servant. 6^{ly} I will (replies his Majesty) but I look that no Petitions be made for you by any Man at that time, but only for my Favour in General. 6^{ly} I humbly beg, that your Majesty, when you think fit, would make my Attainment with my Lord Duke, either upon, or without Examination of those Informations, which his Grace hath receiv'd against me. It becomes not me, a King, to take up the Quarrels between my Subjects: and the Duke has never before me express'd any such Enmity against you. So he thank'd his Majesty for the last part of his

Anfwer, which reviv'd him not a little.
7ly Whereas by your Father's Dire-
ction, I bought a Pension of 2000
Marks *per Annum*, for 3000*l.* I de-
sire your Majesty would be pleas'd
either to buy it of me for the same
sum again, and extinguish it; or assign
it to be paid me out of the Tenth
and Subsidies of the Bishoprick, as be-
fore I had Appointment to receive
it out of the Hamper. The King
said, *Assignments are naught; but I*
will take order with my Treasurer,
either to pay it, or buy it, as shall be
found most convenient. 8ly I desire
your Majesty would bestow the next
vacant Prebend in *Westminster*, upon
my Library-keeper, as your Father had
promis'd me, or let me resume my
Books. *It is very reasonable,* replies
the King. 9ly I petition your Majesty
that you would be pleas'd to ratify
a Grant made by your Father of four
Advousons to St. John's College in
Cambridge; two whereof I bought
with my Money, and two his Maje-
sty gave me for the use of that Society.
Says the King, *I will ratify the Grant,*
and give way to amend any Errors
in the Form, or in the Passing. 10ly,

• I beg Leave to retire to a little Lodge,
• lent me by my Lord *Sandys*, where
• my Lord *Conway* may receive the Seal,
• when your Majesty commands it.
• Which was granted. Lastly, I be-
• seech your Majesty not to be offended
• at me, if upon my Discharge, Re-
• ports are rais'd of my being discon-
• tented, which I protest I am not, go-
• ing off so comfortably in your Ma-
• jesty's Favour. *I will do you that*
• *Justice* (says the King) *and shall lit-*
• *tle value Reports.* So with a pleasing
Countenance he gave him his Hand
to kiss, and dismiss'd him graciously.

[26.]

And the Keeper thought he had obtain'd much of his Majesty; but after he went away, so powerful were his Enemies, that they frustrated all the kind Concessions made him by the King; for he reap'd no Advantage from any one of them, excepting the four Advousons confirm'd to St. John's College. After he left Salisbury (which was the next Day) he could never receive any thing from his Pension, nor to his dying Day could he ever bring it to a Hearing. It was his Expectation too, that after some time he might be call'd again to the Council-Board. But

his hopes (it seems) were vain; for he was never so much as thought of, and he was resolv'd not to intrude without being call'd. But before five Days were expir'd, he had Intelligence how vehemently the Duke talk'd against him. Which made him give over all hopes of any Court Favour for the future; and so, knowing the worst, he was the better able to set his Heart at rest; for the greatest Torture to a well-pois'd Mind is, to fluctuate betwixt Hope and Dispair.

*The Seal
taken from
him.*

[27.]
*Fuller in
his Ch.*

*Hist. B.XI.
p. 125. is
out by some
Months in*

*his Compu-
putation a-
bout the
Keeper.*

*Cypr. Ang.
p. 139.
Sander.*

*Son's Reign
of King Ch.
p. 24.*

*The Letter
is in Bishop
Hacket.*

Upon the 25th of October, Sir John Sucklin, Controller of his Majesty's Houshould, brought a Warrant from the King to the Lord Keeper, (who was now at Foxly, near Windsor) to receive the Great-Seal; which accordingly he deliver'd, but with no signs of Unwillingness, as one intimates. For the Keeper was glad to hear that so worthy a Person as Sir Thomas Coventry, his Majesty's Attorney General, was to succeed him: And instantiy, giving up the Seal, he put it in the presence of Sir John Sucklin, into a rich Cabinet, inclosing the Key into a Letter to his Majesty, seal'd with the Episcopal Arms of Lincoln. Thus did

*He gives
over all
hopes of
Court Fa-
vour.*

did the Duke of *Buckingham* at last compass his Designs upon his own Creature; in the furthering of which 'tis more than probable that he was assisted by the Lawyers, out of a Desire they might have to get this Dignity once again into their own possession. And now we have done with the Lord Keeper; so that the sequel of this Part will be taken up in giving an Account of the Bishop's Troubles, with Reference to the State, omitting all his Concerns in the Church, till I come to my last Part. Notwithstanding that, according to the order of Time, they were in reality mixt and interwoven with the State-occurrences of his Life; yet I choose to separate them, because, as I told you before, I would not confound Characters; that so my Reader might the better see upon a clear View how to form a Judgment of him. Which I am the more desirous he should, because it has been the great Misfortune of this Prelate (as well as it was *Laud's*) to be represented to Posterity by contrary Parties, under quite different Shapes.

M 4

And

Cyprianus
Angl. p.
139.

*The Bishop
retires to
Bugden.*

And now the Bishop being discharg'd from his Civil Affairs, he betakes himself wholly to his Episcopal Charge. And without touching at *London*, he remov'd from *Foxly* to *Bugden* in *Huntington-shire*, the Bishop of *Lincoln's* Seat; making the greater haste to be gone, lest now the Malice of his Enemies being fresh he might suffer more from them. For they that could procure the Seal to be taken from him, without accusing him of any Mis-management, might as well if exasperated have depriv'd him of his Bishoprick: for when once Peoples Wills come to give Rules to their Actions, God alone knows to what they may proceed. But tho' his Lordship thought, that now he was retir'd from the sight and out of the Reach of his Enemies, yet in truth he was not so. For he had spies set over him to watch his Actions, and to insnare him in his Words. And that the rather, because the Bishop was of a free, open Temper, and inclin'd to take that innocent and undesigning Liberty of Speech, which a Man would not be so apt to do, did he think People stood

*Spies are
set over
him.*

[33.]
*Sander-
son's Reign
of K. Ch.
p. 24.*

stood at his Elbow, to make the worst of ev'ry Thing, that was said. But neither was his pleasant humour sometimes without a mixture of Policy; for by seeming to open himself, he would often tempt others from being too much upon the Reserve. And he was too wise after the severe warning given him, to speak any thing that with a favourable Interpretation could turn to his Disadvantage.

The Duke of *Buckingham* continu'd still the Bishop's implacable Adversary, and vow'd, *that of all he had given him, he would leave him nothing.* And the better to furnish himself with Accusations to compass his Designs, he had given Order to a Commission of Thirteen to examine ev'ry particular Action of the Bishop's, and to make a Collection of what would bear a Censure in the *King's Bench*, the *Star-Chamber*, or the *High-Court of Parliament*. And this was manag'd with that secrifie for some time, that his Lordship with all his vigilance was not aware of it. And the whole result of their Inquiry was, that their Malice shew'd

[67.]
A Commission of Thirteen sit upon the Bishop's Actions.

[66.] his Innocency still the more. And when they could charge him with nothing else, at last they urg'd, that he Entertain'd such at his Table as bore a Grudge to the Duke; who perhaps upon Old Acquaintance might make him some Visits, but never upon any Factious Design, that could be prov'd. Besides all this, the Bishop had notice that he was perpetually Slander'd to his Majesty in Private, and he had Reason to suspect that things were worse than they were represented to him.

[65.]
*The Reason of the
 continu-
 ance of the
 Duke's ha-
 stred to the
 Bishop.*

Now the Occasion of the Duke's Resentments growing still more and more vehement, was not the Bishop's Stoutness or Obstinacy, (to which he was but too prone) for he had almost Cring'd to his Grace in Submission, and stoop'd as low as was possible on this side a Dejected Baseness: But it was the Freedom of his Advice, that gall'd the Duke. And one would think, the Bishop had had too much Experience of the ungratefulness of that Office, ever to venture upon it again. But there is nothing so careless and so willful as down-

downright Honesty, which consults not what is most expedient for it self, so much as what may be for the Good of others. And thus when the Countess of *Buckingham* (his Grace's Mother) and several other of his best Friends advis'd with the Bishop about him, he was so plain as to say, that he approv'd not of his Grace's manner of Magnifying his Services for the King, and that he did not seem to apprehend what a deal of Envy he gain'd by his Vaunting sometimes, *That he would make his Majesty the greatest Monarch in Europe.* And the Bishop too would say that he did not like the Duke's Preparations against *Cadis*, which he thought would in the End turn to his Dishonour: to dissuade him from which, he would often say, *That a King must make himself sure in the Love of his own People at home, before he bids War abroad to such a Rich and mighty Nation.* Such an Insight had this great Man into all Affairs, that his Counsels were ever for the best; and so faithful and free was he, that he could not endure to disguise his Sentiments. And wise Men

Men have that in Common very often with Fools, that they must be shewing themselves, tho' it be for the most part to their own Prejudice.

*The Bishop
suspects not
the King to
be against
him.*

[64.]

But the Bishop could never be perswaded that his Majesty had any hand in those Contrivances, that were Design'd for his utter Ruin; and that, all proceeded in a manner involuntarily from him, by meer Impulse of such as having too much of his Majesty's Ear, might transport him beyond his own Merciful Temper. And so confident was he of his own Innocency, and of his Majesty's Justice and Favour to him for his former Services, that in his greatest Troubles, he desir'd no more in his own behalf but to be brought before his Majesty to speak for himself, and to represent those things aright, which others had set in no favourable Light. But yet certain it is, that had not the King been disgusted with him, he would never have wink'd so long at his Sufferings. However the Bishop thought nothing of all this; excepting once that he was startled at an expression, that escap'd from the King, within a few

few Weeks after his Father's Death. One that came from the French Court told his Majesty, That the Spanish Ambassador spake openly there, (when the Marriage with the Princess Mary was to be finish'd) *that he could not have Two Wives, for their Infanta was surely his.* To which the King replied, *there are some English as well as Spaniards, that are of that Opinion.* Which when it was told the Bishop, he said with a low Voice, *I know of none such; but if he means Me, it will be the worse for me while I live.*

The Time for the King's Coronation being now just at hand, the Bishop of Lincoln comes to London and writes thus to the Duke of Buckingham; *Being come hither, according to Cabal. the Duty of my Place, to do my best p. 310. Jan. 7. Service for the Preparation to the Co- 1625. ronation, and to wait upon his Ma- jesty for his Royal Pleasure and Di- rection therein; I do most humbly be- seech your Grace to crown so many of your Grace's former Favours, and to receive a Creature of your own (struck dead only with your Displeasure) by bringing me to kiss his Majesty's hand, with whom I took leave in no Dis- favour*

The Bishop
desires to
assist at the
Corona-
tion.

[68.]
Cypr. An-
gl. p. 144
Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI.
p. 121.

Febr. 2.
Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI.
p. 123.
*I believe
he is missta-
ken there
about Wil-
liams,
to be sure
he was not
Lord Kee-
per at this
time. And
perhaps
was not so
much in
Favour as
to read the
King's ge-
neral Par-
don.*

Laud's,
Diar.
An. 1625.
Jan. 16.
& Jan. 17.

favour at all. But his Petition (it seems) stood him but in small stead, if in any at all. For, although the Deans of *Westminster* have had for above these Three hundred Years last past a particular Place at that great Solemnity, and although Bishop *Andrews* (who was Dean) did attend at the Coronation of King *James* as a special Officer; yet when the appointed Day was come, the Bishop of *Lincoln* had orders to absent himself, and to depute one of the Prebendaries in his Place. Now he was resolv'd not to name Bishop *Laud*, because he took him for his Rival and his Adversary; and to Substitute one of a degree inferior to a Bishop, he thought would be taken ill by the Court. Therefore to avoid being laugh'd at on the one hand, or censur'd on the other, he very prudently sends his Majesty a List of all the Prebendaries and their several Dignities, and leaves it to him to choose whom he pleases; and immediately he pitch'd upon *Laud*, who accordingly attended in the Room of *Williams*; who insisted not upon his Right, but yielded to the *Sequestra-*
tion,

tion, as he call'd it in his Letter to the King.

Immediately after the Coronation The Second Parliam.
call'd, Feb. 6. was over, a second Parliament met. And the Duke, fearing the Bishop of Lincoln, makes Interest with the King to have him kept out of the House. Cabal. p. 114. His Lordship being ready to obey his Majesty in all his Commands, was willing to absent himself, since it was *his Majesty's pleasure to spare him.* But yet he would not forfeit his Right as The Bishop not sum-
mon'd to it. a Peer, lest he might infringe that of others; and therefore he complains thus to his Majesty; *I have not yet receiv'd my Writ of Summons unto the Parliament (denied to no Prisoners, or condemned Peers in the Reign of your Blessed Father) that I might accordingly make my Proxy; the which I cannot do, the Writ being not receiv'd.* So at last he obtain'd a Writ, and Sits in it by
Proxy. made B. Andrews his Proxy. And the Bishop in this Letter to his Majesty, in which he petitions for this Writ, adds these following Supplications. *First,* Cabal. p. 115. *I beg for God's sake, that your Majesty would be pleas'd to mitigate the causeless Displeasure of my Lord Duke against me.* *Secondly,* His Peti-
tions at this
time to the
King. *I beseech your Ma-
jesty*

jesty for CHRIST JESUS his sake, not to believe News, or Accusations against me, while I stand thus enjoyn'd from your Royal Presence, before you shall have heard my Answer to the Particulars. Lastly, I supplicate, That in my Absence this Parliament, no use may be made of your Sacred Name to wound the Reputation of a poor Bishop, who besides his Religion and Duty to that Divine Character you now bear, hath ever affectionately honour'd your very Person, above all the Objects in this World, as he desires the Salvation of the World to come. But I crave no Protection against any other Accuser or Accusation whatsoever. There are in his Letters several other Protestations of this Nature, which are too many to be inserted into this Life; but the few I have transcrib'd here, and elsewhere, I thought necessary to clear him from the Aspersions of several Authors that agree in charging him with unfair Dealings in the preceding Parliament to the King and Duke. And in another long Letter to the King, much about this Time, he shews his Majesty how grossly he has been abus'd to him by the Duke; and that he will venture his

his Life upon the Proof of any thing his Grace can urge against him.

Yet for all this, the Bishop was *The Bishop advises the Duke not to appear in Parliament.* ready at all times to serve the Duke with his Advice: and being demanded, when this Second *Parliament* was summon'd, by *Buckingham's Friends* to tell them what he thought would be most adviseable for the Duke's safety, with reference to this *Parliament*, he answered; 'His best way will be, 'not to come near it; for it will be 'impossible for him to close with this 'Parliament, who (contrary to my Advice) offended the former, and broke 'it up. Let him remove himself by 'some great Embassage, till the first 'Session be ended; into *Germany*, if he 'will, as far as *Vienna*, if he dare trust 'the King of *Spain*'s greatest Friend 'and nearest Ally. But this Advice did not please those of the Duke's Interest; for rather than send him so far from the King, they would venture him at Home, thinking their Party strong enough to secure him. Nor could the Bishop bring them off from their Assurance: But all that he foretold came to pass, which enraged the Duke so much the more. The *Par-*

[70.] *See the whole Proceedings in Rushw. part. i.* *liament* grew violent against him, and spent the best part of eighteen Weeks in drawing up a Charge, and prosecuting it against his Grace. So that it was fortunate for the Bishop that he was not in the House at this time, because he could not have appeared against the Duke, and to stand for him had been to no purpose, and would have exposed him to popular Hatred.

Cypr. Ang. p. 151. But the King perceiving that they *wounded him through the Duke's sides,* and not being able to divert them from what they were set upon, he *An. 1626. The Third Parl. call'd. of June.* dissolved the *Parliament* on the 15th

[72.] After this, his Majesty designing to call another *Parliament*, the Lord Keeper *Coventry* had orders to write to the Bishop of *Lincoln* to dissuade him from appearing at it. But the *Bishop sits himself in the House.* Bishop (with all submission to the King) perceiving himself to be trammeled upon, resolved to stand upon his Privilege as a Lord, and to let it be no longer infring'd. Therefore in his Answer to the Lord *Coventry's* Letter, he says; *I must crave some time to resolve by the best Counsels GOD shall give me, whether I shall obey your Lordship's*

ship's Letter (though mentioning his Majesty's Pleasure) before my own Right, which by the Law of GOD and Man I may in all Humility maintain. And so resolutely did he persist, that when the Parliament met, he sate in the House himself, and not by Proxy, as before; and continu'd in it to the last. And he was the more earnest to be present at this time, out of the great Desire he had, if possible, to do his Majesty some Service.

March 17.
An. 1627.

But his Enemies were resolved to be upon him, and to catch at all Opportunities to accuse him. So now <sup>The Bishop
is censur'd
for his Popularity.</sup> [73.] he is censured for growing too Popular in this Parliament. And indeed it was high time for him to make some Friends, since he was not only dis-countenanced by the King, but strongly opposed by Buckingham and Laud, that had determined his Ruin, if possible. But yet for all his Favour with the Parliament, he departed not from the King's Interest. But did his Endeavour now (as formerly) to ballance things equally between his Majesty and his Subjects.

N 2

At

*The Petition
of
Right.*
H. Lestr.
K. Ch. p.
76, 77. &c.
[77.]

*The Bishop
is for it.*

[78.]

At this time, the People desiring to be assured that their just Liberties should no ways be infringed; Sir Ed. Coke advises that a *Petition of Right* be presented to his Majesty: which accordingly was done. The Duke of *Buckingham* was very much against this Petition, for which the *Commons* were resolved to be even with him before they parted. But the Bishop of *Lincoln* was for promoting the Address of the *Commons*, only he was for having a Clause added to it, *That as they desired to preserve their own Liberties, so they had regard to leave entire that Power wherewith his Majesty was intrusted for the Protection of his People.* Which the *Commons* would not admit of, but ordered it to be cancelled; and had some Suspicions, as if the Bishop had been *sprinkled with some Court Holy-water.* Whereas all he designed by it was, only to keep up the Dignity of Majesty. And when the King made his Objections against this Petition, the Bishop answered them all, and shewed his Majesty how agreeable it was to our Laws and Constitution, and no less honourable for himself; for it made him a King of Free-men, and

and not of Slaves: All which his Lordship did so plainly demonstrate, that the King gave his full Assent to the Petition: upon which the Houses testified their Joy by a mighty shout. [79.] H. Lestr.
And it was said that the *House of Lords* requested the King upon this Agreement, to receive again into favour the Bishop of *Lincoln*, with some other Lords. And the King perceiving how ready the Bishop was in this Parliament to serve him, he gave him his Hand to kiss, and he was admitted to talk in private both with his Majesty and the Duke. But so unfortunate was the Bishop, that even this Conference which he had at this time with the King, gave the first occasion to all his Troubles afterwards in the the *Star-Chamber*. For, the King conjuring him to tell him freely, how he might best ingratiate himself with the People, his Lordship reply'd, 'That the Puritans were many, and strong sticklers; and if his Majesty would give but private Orders to his Ministers to connive a little at their Party, shew them some Indulgence, it might perhaps mollify them a little, and make them more pliant: Tho' he did

The first
B. Troubles
in Star-
Chamber.

*The Peti-
tion of
Right.
H. Lestr.
K. Ch. p.
76, 77, &c.
[77.]*

*The Bishop
is for it.*

[78.]

At this time, the People desiring to be assured that their just Liberties should no ways be infringed; Sir Ed. Coke advises that a *Petition of Right* be presented to his Majesty: which accordingly was done. The Duke of Buckingham was very much against this Petition, for which the *Commons* were resolved to be even with him before they parted. But the Bishop of Lincoln was for promoting the Address of the *Commons*, only he was for having a Clause added to it, *That as they desired to preserve their own Liberties, so they had regard to leave entire that Power wherewith his Majesty was intrusted for the Protection of his People.* Which the *Commons* would not admit of, but ordered it to be cancelled; and had some Suspicions, as if the Bishop had been *sprinkled with some Court Holy-water.* Whereas all he designed by it was, only to keep up the Dignity of Majesty. And when the King made his Objections against this Petition, the Bishop answered them all, and shewed his Majesty how agreeable it was to our Laws and Constitution, and no less honourable for himself; for it made him a King of Free-men, and

and not of Slaves: All which his Lordship did so plainly demonstrate, that the King gave his full Assent to the Petition: upon which the Houses testified their Joy by a mighty shout. H. Lestr. p. 81.

And it was said that the *House of Lords* requested the King upon this Agreement, to receive again into Favour the Bishop of *Lincoln*, with some other Lords. And the King perceiving how ready the Bishop was in this Parliament to serve him, he gave him his Hand to kiss, and he was admitted to talk in private both with his Majesty and the Duke. But so unfortunate was the Bishop, that even this Conference which he had at this time with the King, gave the first occasion to all his Troubles afterwards in the *Star-Chamber*. For, the King conjuring him to tell him freely, how he might best ingratiate himself with the People, his Lordship reply'd, 'That 'the Puritans were many, and strong 'sticklers; and if his Majesty would 'give but private Orders to his Ministers to connive a little at their Party, 'shew them some Indulgence, it might 'perhaps mollify them a little, and 'make them more pliant: Tho' he did

[79.]

[80.]

The Bishop
admitted
to kiss the
K. Hand.

The first
rise of the
B. Troubles
in Star-
Chamber.

'not promise that they would be trusty
'long to any Government. And the
King answered, he had thought upon
this before, and that he would do so.
About two Months after this, the
Bishop at his Court at *Leicester*, acted
according to this Counsel resolv'd upon
Cypr.Ang. by his Majesty; and withall told Sir
J. Lamb, and Dr. *Sibthorp* his Reason
p. 172. for it; *That it was not only his own,*
(37.) *but the Royal Pleasure.* Now *Lamb*
was one that had formerly been infi-
nitely oblig'd to the Bishop; but how-
ever, a Breach happening betwixt them,
he and *Sibthorp* carried the Bishop's
Words to *Laud*, and he to the King,
who was then at *Bisham*. Hereupon
it was resolv'd, That upon the Depo-
sition of these Two, a Bill should be
drawn up against the Bishop, for re-
vealing the King's Secrets, being a
Sworn Counsellor. But, *that he trespass*
p. 152. *against Loyalty with his Tongue*, is a
Sander-
son's K.Ch. very great Mistake in certain Histo-
p. 220. *Rush. Coll.* rians. This Information, together
p. 421. with some others, being transmitted
to the Council-Table, was ordered for
the present to be seal'd up, and com-
mitted to the Custody of Mr. *Trumbal*,
one of the Clerks of the Council.
Never-

Neverthelefs; the Bishop made shift to procure a Copy of them. And so the Busineſs reſted for ſome Years.

But to return to the King's receiving
the Bishop into Favour again. To
set all things straight, and to quit all
old scores, his Lorship was kindly re-
ceiv'd by the Duke, and no mention
was made of former Unkindnesses, but
Williams tendered his faithful Service,
and *Buckingham* accepted of it; and
allow'd him to hold up a seeming En-
mity, and his Interest with the People,
that so he might be the better able to
serve him the next Session of *Parlia-
ment*. So they parted in perfect Cha-
rity, which was a great Happines to
them both, since they never met again;
the Duke dying soon after by the Hand
of that Notorious Villain *John Felton*.
And indeed the Duke promised at a
private Meeting, two Months before
he dy'd, to restore the Bishop into Fa-
vour, and did design a time for the
open Profession of it. Which (consi-
dering the violent Hatred he bore to
him before) to me seems none of the
smallest, amongst those several strange
Prognosticks, which his Grace had of
his untimely End. And now to shew
The Bishop
receiv'd in
to Favour
by the
Duke.
[80.]
Bucking-
ham kill'd.
Stow's Ch.
Aug. 23.
An. 1628.
[65.]
[81.]

the Bishop of Lincoln's great Generosity; immediately upon the first sad Tidings of the Duke's Death, he dispatch'd away a kind Consolating Letter to his Mother, whose Answer to his Lordship's, begins thus; *My Lord, It is true Nobleness that makes you remember so distressed a Creature as I am, and to continue a true Friend in harder Fortunes. You give me many Reasons of Comfort, for which I kindly thank you, for I have need of them all.* And he continued to shew Respect, and to do what Service he could to his desolate Relations, which the Countess of Denbigh his Sister did often confess to Bishop Hacket, and speak of to Williams's great Commendation and Honour.

Stow's Ch. This Parliament (which we have
An. 1628. been speaking of) continued till the
The Parlia- 26th of June, and then was prorogued
m-ent is to the 20th of October; and then upon
dissolv'd. the 20th of January began again, and
The 10 ac- so continued unto the beginning of
cording to March following, when upon the 4th
some. of that Month, the King dissolved it
[82.] utterly. For tho' twas thought by
 some, that the Death of the Duke
 might occasion more Quiet, yet the
 People

People still continu'd as unruly, and rather more than ever. Insomuch that the K. dismift them in a Passion, and fo much in his Displeasure, that he called no Parliaments after this for the space of twelve Years.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* (who had foresight enough to see which way Things were a-going) with sorrow presaged the Ruin of the State, and did his utmost Endeavour to prevent it. And for this End he importuned the Lord *Weston* to carry this Message from him to his Majesty. *That the Parliament might meet again for all this, and that there might be a conference between them and the Lords, to debate upon Differences. And that he hoped their House would check, if not censure those Commons, that were so very rude; and that they would, being ashamed for what they had done, make Amends by their Submission. But if they were impenitently obstinate, he did not desire to intercede for them.* What the Event of this Counsel might have been, God alone knows; but the King would not hearken to it. And here it is worth our while, to mention a very common Saying of the Bishop's about Parliaments.

*The Bish.
Advice to
the King a-
bout the
Parl.*

[84.]

*A Saying
of the Bi-
shop's about
Parlia-
ments.*

ments; That Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments were most tractable, which sat but a short time, ended before they were acquainted with one anothers Interests, and had not learned to combine.

*The want
of Parl. a
great cause
of the Bi-
shop's Mis-
fortunes.*

[85.]

It happened ill for our Bishop that Parliaments were now discontinued; for he fell into all his future Troubles, chiefly because he was quite out of Favour at Court, and at the same time wanted the shelter of a Parliament to skreen him from the Storms that were still a gathering; tho' if there had been any Fair Weather in the Sky, one would think by this time that he had had a sufficient share of the Foul. And now the Duke being laid in his Grave, some perhaps will expect, that all should go well with him. But that's not to be expected so long as Bishop *Land* lives; who after *Buckingham's* Death grew more and more in Favour with the King, and was about this time made Bishop of *London*. And as the first Differences between these two great Prelates began by Mis-understanding on both sides, so did they continue in their Mistakes (Time rather increasing them) to the very last, and never had the

Rush. Coll. so long as Bishop *Land* lives; who after *Buckingham's* Death grew more and more in Favour with the King, and was about this time made Bishop of *London*.

p. 637.

the happiness to frame right their Nations of one another. For B. *Laud* ever look'd upon B. *Williams* as a Man that gave Encouragement to the *Puritans*, and that hung loose as to our Church Discipline; and on the other hand, B. *Williams* took B. *Laud* to be a great Favourer of the *Papists*. Which we may reasonably conclude from what a Person of Honour tells us in his ^{E. of An-} Memoirs. And as the Opinions of <sup>glesey's
Mem. p.</sup> these two Bishops concerning one an- 336. other were different, so likewise were [86.] their Natural Tempers quite opposite, for which reason there appear'd the less hopes of a Reconciliation. For <sup>The Cha-
racter of</sup> *Laud and Williams.* *Laud* was a stiff and rigid Afferter of our Church Discipline, and would not yield in the least Punctilio by any means; for his Maxim was, *There is D. Lloyd's
no end of Yielding.* *Williams* was a Man <sup>Ch. of B.
Laud.</sup> too that lov'd the Beauty and Decency of our Church, as much as any Man, but then his Temper was more complying; and his Policy was, to let Necessity govern in Matters of less weight, and to bend his private Inclinations in such things, to the Prevalency of the Times. *Laud* was for Compulsion and the Authority of the Magi-

Magistrate against the *Puritans*: And *Williams* thought Insinuations and Compliances would work the best Effects upon them, and that the surest way would be to *catch them by craft*. In short, *Laud* was a Man fit for Primitive Times, but *Williams* to comply with the Weakness of his own; The One being fit to govern Saints, the Other to deal with Men, the difficulter Task by far.

Thus they being Men, both very active in their way, and their Notions of things quite different, it is natural they should be at Variance. And *Laud* in one main Point was grossly mistaken about *Williams*, who did always assert and maintain the Divine Right of Episcopacy, tho' *Laud* affirms he was of a contrary Opinion. But to search no farther into the Reasons of Things, let us now proceed to Matters of Fact, and to give an Account of such cross Accidents as befell the Bishop of *Lincoln*, during the Time of Bishop *Laud's* Favour at Court; which was so great, that in Affairs of State, as well as of the Church he govern'd almost without Controul. And now one of the first things that he obtain'd

Laud's Diary, Anno 1626. Jan. 17.

[87.]

Orders to regulate the Preachers.

of

of his Majesty was an Order to silence all Preaching, or Reading in the Universities, upon the Questions decided at *Dort*. This Direction of his Majesty's the Bishop of *Lincoln* obey'd, but foresaw that this Restraint would be so far from tending to the Peace of the Church, that it would make the Zealots of each Party the more earnest to establish their Opinion, and that in the End, it would in all probability turn to a general Combustion. And tho' he for his own part did strictly observe the King's Orders, yet because he was not so stirring in them as was expected, he was mark'd out for an Opposer of the King's Commands, and a main stickler for the Adherents to the Synod of *Dort*.

Now was Prince *Charles* born; and to the great Solemnity of his Christening on the 27th of June, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal about *London* were invited, excepting the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who was omitted on purpose; which troubled him mightily, that in a Day of publick Rejoycing, when his Majesty's Brow was clear to every body, it should frown upon him alone. Tho' for some time before this, he was

*The Birth
of Prince
Charles.
An. 1630.
May 29.
[96.]*

The main Reason of Williams's Disfavour. was quite thrown out of the Privy-Council, and not so much as allow'd the Honour of the Title, more than which he had not enjoy'd these four Years. The Bishop not knowing what Reason the King had for all his Displeasure against him, made bold to ask the Earl of *Holland*, whence he thought it might proceed? To which the Earl reply'd freely, *That he must expect worse than this, because he was such a Champion for the Petition of Right; and that there was no room at the Table for those that lik'd it.*

A Commission for regulating Fees. And had not *Williams* been absolutely clear from all manner of *Bribery* and *Extortion*, not only during the time he was Lord Keeper, but likewise now in his Ecclesiastical Courts, his Adversaries had brought him into a *Star-Chamber Trial*, by Virtue of the *Commission for regulating of Fees* (set on foot this Year) which sifted him narrowly, but could prove nothing against him.

The Bishop's Troubles encrease. And now the Bishop declining still more and more in Favour, a multitude of lesser Troubles surround him, and several must needs be pecking at him, tho' it were but to ingratiate them-

themselves at Court. Abundance of frivolous Accusations and little vexatious Law suits were brought against him daily; and it was the height of his Adversaries Policy to empty his Purse and clip his Wings by all the meanes they could invent, that so at last he might lie wholy at their mercy, and not be able to shift for himself. Notwithstanding all which, what with his Innocency and what with his Courage springing from it, he bore up against them all, and never was the Man that shew'd a Grudge or Malice to any of them. But his Lordship perceiving himself to be thus perpetually harass'd he ask'd the Lord *Cottington*, if he could tell him, what he should do to procure his Peace, and such other ordinary Favours as other Bishops had from his Majesty. To which the Lord *Cottington* replied, That the splendour in which he liv'd, and the great resort of Company that came to him, was offensive, and that the King must needs take it ill, that one under the height of his Displeasure should live at so Magnificent a Rate. In the next Place his Majesty would be better

[89.]

He desires to know how he may appease the King.

*The Bishop
refuses to
quit his
Deanery.*

ter satisfied if he resign'd the Dea-
nery of *Westminster*, because he did
not care that he should be so
near a Neighbour to *Whitehall*. As
for the First of these Reasons his
natural Temper (tho' to be sure he
was imprudent in it) would not suf-
fer him to comply with it , and
to moderate his Expences in House-
keeping. And he was not so short-
sighted as to part with his Deanery
upon such precarious Terms. For,
(says he) *What Health can come
from such a Remedy ? Am I like to
be beholden to them for a settled
Tranquility, that practice upon the
Ruin of my Estate. and the Thrall
of my Honour ? If I forfeit one Pre-
ferment for Fear, will it not encourage
them to tear me Piece-meal hereafter ?*

[90] *It is not my case alone, but every
Man's: and if the Law cannot main-
tain my Right, it can maintain no Man's.
So in spight of all their Contrivances
to ou't him, he kept the Deanery till
the King receiv'd it from him at Ox-
ford, in the Year 1644. But they
did all they could, since he was re-
solv'd to hold it, to make him as
uneasy as possible in it. He was not
admit-*

*Contrivan-
ces to make
him uneasy
in it*

admitted to Preach before the King in Lent (*Good Friday* being his usual Course) for Four Years; and for Three Years together, when he came to the *Chapters*, or to the Election of Scholars, he could not rest above a Day or two in College, but Secretary *Coke* either by his Letters, or by Word of Mouth commanded him from the King, to return to his Bishoprick. So that one time the Bishop very resolutely ask'd him, *how he durst command a Man out of his Freehold?* Which wrought upon the Old Gentleman so far, that he never rested until he had his Pardon Seal'd for it. After this the Arch-Bishop was order'd by the King to press him to Residency upon his Bishoprick by the Statute, since nothing else would remove him; and this contrivance lost it's Effect too. For in answer to this he writes to his Grace thus; *I confine my self to those particular seasons, to which the local Statutes of the College and my express Oath do enjoyn me; That is to say, the two Chapters and the great Festivals. All which space of Time doth not (being taken in the disjunct spaces) make*

O

make

Dav.
Lloyd's
Life of
Williams.

[91.]

*make a Bishop a Nonresident by any
Cypr. Ang. Law I know of, nor consequently in-
fringe his Majesty's Instructions tho'
p. 199. a Man had no Dispensation; which
Instructions require only that a Bishop
should reside: but We presume that it is
no part of his Majesty's gracious In-
tention, that they should be confin'd,
or as it were imprison'd in their Bi-
shopricks.*

*A Differ-
ence be-
twixt him
and the
Prebenda-
ries, An.
1634.*

*Barnard's
Life of
Heylyn.
p. 160, &c.*

And here his Vexations about the Deanery rested for a few Years; after which, Differences broke out between the Dean and the Prebendaries of *Westminster*, upon which they drew up Six and Thirty Articles against him, frivolous and impertinent in the main, to which the Bishop answer'd with no concern at all. But if you will credit an Author that has but small affection for his Lordship (upon his Kinsman's Account) the Things alledg'd against him were notorious. So I refer my Reader to him, and to Bishop *Hacket*, and after comparing of them both together, let him judge for himself: But whether the Bishop were at this time culpable or not, yet he kept his Deanery still. And to be sure his Actions were not like to have an over-favour-

favourable Interpretation from Dr. *Heylyn*, who was one of his chief Accusers, and his profest Enemy, not only upon Bishop *Laud's* Account, but likewise upon the Account of a ^{Barnard.} Personal Quarrel he had formerly ^{p. 129.} with Bishop *Williams*. Justice to be sure ought to be executed indifferently upon all without respect of Persons: But then, if these Persons did heighten [92.] and exasperate their Complaints, nay, or if they stretch'd them to the full Rigour, against their Dean, who had been every way so great a Benefactor both to the College and Church of *Westminster*; we may modestly conclude, That he receiv'd very hard measure at their Hands; as indeed most of the good Offices and Services he did in the foregoing Part of his Life, brought him in no small share of Evil.

As yet you see the Bishop of *Lincoln* has not had the least glimpse of that good Fortune in this Reign, which he enjoy'd all along, without having it so much as once over-cast in the former. And now by this time it was sufficiently known to all People, how much he was out of Favour; so

O 2 that

212 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

[96.]
*The Bi-
shop un-
justly ac-
cus'd a-
bout the
Ship-mo-
ney.*

An. 1636.

that it was look'd upon as a piece of Merit, to assist in his Ruin. And this perhaps might be some incitement to what Sir *Robert Osborn*, High Sheriff of *Huntingtonshire*, acted against the Bishop in the levying of the *Ship-Money*. *Williams* for his part was very cautious to carry himself without offence in this Matter; but Sir *Robert*, laying a very unequal levy upon the *Hundred*, wherein *Bugden* was, the Bishop wrote courteously to him to rectify it, and he and his Neighbours would be ready to see it collected. Upon this, Sir *Robert*, catching at the Opportunity, posts up to Court, and makes a heavy Complaint against the Bishop, that he not only refus'd the Payment of *Ship-Money* himself, but likewise animated the *Hundred* to do so too. And yet for all this, when the Bishop afterwards clear'd himself before the Lords of the Council, and they were satisfy'd, that he had behav'd himself with Duty and Prudence, Sir *Robert* was not reprehended, nor had the Bishop any Satisfaction given him, nor was the Levy regulated.

After

After this, was reviv'd the long and troublesome Trial against the Bishop <sup>The Trial
in Star-Chamber</sup> in the Star-Chamber, which commenc'd <sup>against the
Bishop</sup> 4 Car. upon some Informations (as we hinted before) brought against him by Lamb and Sibthorp. I shall not pretend here to abstract the whole Proceedings, least my Reader might suspect me of Partiality; as indeed the leaving out of any one little Circumstance may give the whole Matter another Face, than what it really has. He therefore that [110 to 127] has so much Leisure and Curiosity Rushw. may have recourse to those Authors ^{part 2d.} that have made it their Business to ^{p. 416. to p. 450.} be particular in this Point. And after he has compar'd Hacket and Rushworth (the former in all probability having the clearest Knowledge of the most minute Circumstances) I doubt not but he will conclude that Bishop Williams had very hard Measure dealt him. However, when the Business [135.] came to a final determination, the <sup>July 11.
1637.</sup> Bishop was Fin'd 10000*l.* to the King, and to suffer Imprisonment <sup>The Bishop
fin'd and
imprison'd,</sup> during his Majesty's Pleasure, and withall to be suspended by the High-Commission-Court from all his Dignities, Offices and Functions.

O 3

And

*His Trou-
bles in the
Tower.*

[127.]

[128.]

*All his
Things
seiz'd and
plunder'd.*

And now a Man of moderate Spleen would think his Adversaries might after this begin to relent and grow mild. But quite contrary, they continu'd all the Time he was in the *Tower* to persecute him, and to bring him to such a wretched condition, if possible, as should make even Themselves to pity him ; for he had the Pity of others long before. I should be reckon'd impertinent should I waste Time to tell, how several at this time forsook him and his Interest, since it was no longer their own ; so I proceed to an account of his Troubles in his Imprisonment. His Fine to the King (as I told you) was a good Round Sum ; and he heard that his Majesty would not bate any thing of it. Therefore that the Weight of it might not oppress him quite, he desir'd that it might be taken up by a Thousand pound Yearly, as his Estate would bear it, till the whole were paid ; but could not have so small a Favour granted. Upon which *Kilvert* (the Bishop's vow'd Enemy) is order'd to go to *Bugden* and *Lincoln*, and there to seize upon all he could, and bring

it immediately into the Exchequer. Away goes he, glad of the Office, and makes sure of all that could be found; Goods of all sorts, Plate, Books and such like, to the value of Ten thousand pounds: of which he never gave Account, but of Eight hundred. The Timber he feld, kill'd the Deer in the Park; sold an Organ that cost 120*l.* for 10*l.* Pictures that cost 400*l.* for 5*l.* made away with what Books he pleas'd; and continu'd Revelling for Three Summers in *Bugden* House: For four Cellars of Wine, Syder, Ale and Bear, with Wood, Hay, Corn and the like, stord up for a Year or two, he gave no Account at all. And thus a brave Personal Estate was squander'd away, and not the least of the King's Fine paid all this while; whereas, if it had been manag'd to the best Advantage, it would have been sufficient to discharge the Whole. It were endless to repeat all the Contrivances against his Lordship during his Confinement; the Bills that were drawn up, and the Suits that were commenc'd against him, as it were on purpose to impoverish him, and to plunge him

over Head and Ears in Debt, that so if he procur'd his inlargement from this Prison, he might not be long out

[128. to] of another : All which you may

[139.] *His Pati-* Read elsewhere at large. But this let

ence in his Sufferings. me add, for an Example to such as

may fall into the like Calamities; that this undanted Prelate bore up against all these Afflictions with the

Spirit of a Man and something more; which to me is an undeniable Proof of his Innocency ; For, *a wounded spirit who can bear?* And this it was

that made his Enemies still more bitter against him, to see him smile through all his Misfortunes; that had a stranger seen his Lordship in the

Tower, he would never have taken him for a Prisoner, but rather for the Lord and Master of the Place. For here he liv'd with his wonted

Chearfulness and Hospitality , and wanted only a larger Allowance to give his Guests a heartier welcome; for now he was confin'd to bare 500*l.* a Year,

a great part of which was consum'd in the very Fees of the *Tower*. He diverted himself when alone some-

[127.] times with writing Latin Poems, [137.] at other times with the Histories of

such

such as were noted for their Sufferings in former Ages. And for the Three years and a half, that he was confin'd, he was the same Man as else where, excepting that his frequent Law Suits broke his studies often; and it could not be seen, that he was the least alter'd in his Health or the pleasantness of his Temper.

But say some, *Williams* may thank himself for his continu'd Troubles, since he refus'd the Terms of agreement that were offer'd. But who must he thank for those Terms, which left him, if accepted of, in worse Circumstances than he was in before? If he intends to be free from any farther vexations in the Star-Chamber; First, he must leave his Bishoprick and Deanery and all his Commendams, and take a Bishoprick in *Ireland* or *Wales*, as his Majesty should think fit. Secondly, he must recant his Book. Thirdly, secure all his Fine. And lastly never question any that had been employ'd by his Majesty against him. To this he answer'd, that he was content to lay his Bishoprick and Deanry at his

[135.]
Conditions
of Agree-
ment of-
fer'd him.

[136.]

The Holy
Table,
Name and
Thing.

Majesty's Feet, but was not willing to go into *Ireland*; That he could not recant his Book, which he was ready to justify; that he would pay his Fine, as fast as he was able; and that he would not question any Body. Yet all this was not thought sufficient to attone for him. Then after all, rather than contend with his Sovereign, he offers to resign all he has in the Church, but still to live in *England*. And as for his Book, he was sorry if any thing in it gave offence to his Majesty. But since he must be stript of all he had in the Church, he desir'd to know how much should be left him of all his Lands and Leases to live upon, that the Fine gatherers might not have all: And whether his Pension of 2000 Marks a Year and the 24000*l.* in Arears for the same, should be taken in Part for the King's Payment. The Answer he receiv'd was, That Pensions are not paid to Men out of Favour, as in the E. of *Bristol's* Case. And as for what should be allow'd him out of his own Estate to live upon, he must not know that till he had wholly submitted himself.

self. Upon this his Lordship writes to the Earl of Dorset (who carried these Messages to and fro) *That it were a tempting of God, to part with all he had willingly, and leave himself no Assurance of a Livelihood: That his Debts, if he came out of the Tower, would cast him into another Prison, no better Provision being made for them, than he saw appearance of: That he would never hazard himself into a condition to beg his Bread.* And so from this time, he was resolv'd to exercise his Patience, and wait a better Day.

After this he heard that the Arch-Bishop was like to fall into no small Troubles: and his Majesty's Expedition into the North gave our Bishop some respite from his. And when the Articles of Pacification, made at Berwick, were burnt in London, and Hacket brought the news of it to the Bishop in the Tower, his Lordship broke out into these Words: *I am right sorry for the King, who is like to be forsaken by his Subjects at home, but far more by all Kings and Princes abroad, who do not love him. But for the Arch-Bishop, he had best* The Troubles of the Nation increase. [137.] *not*

220 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

not meddle with me; for all the Friends he can make, will be too few to save him. And so it unhappily prov'd in a short time. *But do you not hope Sir* (says Hacket) *that such Concussions as you fear will come to pass, will give you your Peace and Liberty?* Possibly (says the Bishop) they will.

[110.] And he had drawn up his Case and all his Grievances in 20. Sheets of Paper to present it to the Parliament which met now; but it being Disolv'd, when it had Sate but Three Weeks, he was prevented in his Design.

*A Parl.
call'd An.
1640.
Apr. 13.*

[137.] Which sudden Dissolution was perhaps that which hasten'd the Ruin of all Things; and against which the Lord Keeper Coventry had Caution'd his Majesty the Year before with his dying Breath, desiring *that his Majesty would take all Distraints from the Parliament, Summon'd against April, with patience, and suffer it to sit without an unkind Dissolution.*

*Another
Parl. call'd
and the
Bishop of
Lincoln
set at Li-
berty.*

On the 3^d of November the Parliament Assembled again; and the Bishop of Lincoln Petitions by the Mediation of the Queen for his Liberty, and to have his Writ to come as a Peer into the Parliament House; which

which was oppos'd by the Lord Kee-
per *Finch* (Successor to the Lord
Coventry) and Arch-Bishop *Laud*. But
the Upper *House* Petition'd his Ma-
jesty for him, and on the 16th of No-
vemb. sent to the Lieutenant of the
Tower to Deliver him to their Officer
of the *Black Rod*, who conducted
him to the *Parliament*, where he fate
amongst the Bishops. But he had
not been many Hours in the *House*,
before he was amaz'd to see such
warm Doings, and such strong and
thwarting Interests on foot. The *The Bi-
shop's Loy-*
Disloyal Party thought themselves
sure of the Bishop, and that a Man
of his great Spirit would not be un-
mindful at such a time of his great
sufferings, little thinking that true
Magnanimity is above the Baseness
of a Revenge; so that in a Day or
Two they perceiv'd they had mista-
ken their Man, insomuch that one
cry'd out, *We have Conjur'd up a spi-
rit, I would we could lay him again.*
For which Adherence of his to the *Wilson's*,
King; and *closing again when he saw Hist. Gr.*
the Axe laid to the Root of Episcopacy, *Brit. p. 197.*
some have snarl'd at him. His Ma-*and Char.*
jesty was soon acquainted with his *p. 176.*

Loy-

222 *The LIFE of ABp. Williams,*

*The Bi-
shop's Cha-
rity to his
Enemies,*

Loyalty, and that he did not refrain to fall sharply upon those Lords, to whom he ow'd his Releasement, for not speaking dutifully of his Majesty, and of his Actions with Reverence. Which when the King heard, he sent for him and had conference with him alone till after Midnight. And to make him some Amends for what was past, he commanded all Orders Fil'd up against him to be cancel'd and eraz'd, that no memorial of them might remain. But for the Bishop to blot such Things out of his Remembrance, it was the very Perfection of Generosity; and Nature had given him a comprehensive Memory, retentive of all Things but Injuries. He was at perfect Charity with all that were so busie and active against him: and when some were set on to try how he stood affected to his Prosecutors, he answer'd, *That if they had no worse Foes than him, they might fear no harm, and that he saluted them with the Charity of a Bishop.* And when Kilvert came to him to crave Pardon and Indemnity for all the Wrongs he had done; *I assure you Pardon* (says the Bishop) *for what*

what you have done before; but this is a new fault, that you take me to be of so base a spirit, as to defile my self with treading upon so mean a Creature. Live still by Petty-fogging and Impeaching, and think that I have forgotten you.

Thus have I given you a full Account of the Fall of this great States-Man, and have brought him through all his Troubles and his long Confinement at last to his Liberty again, tho' not to that Splendor wherein we have seen him in the former Reign. Now he is absolutely Sequestred from all his Offices in the State, being at present not so much as of the Council. So that in the remaining Scene of his Life, his utmost Endeavours must be to maintain the Character of a Prelate. And what Troubles shall hence forward befall him cannot properly be call'd his, but the Nation's; in which indeed he bore a great share, as an eminent Member of that Church whose Miseries now began *to close her in on every side*. So that what there remains of his Life I shall refer to my Fourth and last Part.

The End of the Third Part.

An



*An Account of such Actions as
more immediatly relate to
him as a Clergy-Man and a
Bishop.*

PART IV.

HAVING related his Actions as a States-Man, I proceed now to give an Account of him as a *Divine*. A Character not so full of Pomp, perhaps, nor so dazzling to the Eyes of the People; but yet, if we seriously consider it, more glorious, and of an higher nature than the other. And I call him now from the service of an Earthly Prince, to attend upon the King of Kings, the Lord of Hosts, the Almighty Creatour and Gover-nour of the World.

*A Re-
collection
of some
Things in
the first
part.*

Some Passages relating to him this way were mention'd in the First, and the Beginning of the Second Part; where

where when Chancellor *Egerton* dy'd, we left him, (preparing for his Cure at *Walgrave*) to carry him on in his Business as in a Lay-Capacity. Now therefore we will resume him here, and trace him in the Church, from the time of his Removal to *Walgrave* in *Northampton-shire*, quite down to his dying Day.

After he had taken his Doctor's ^{Dr. Williams set-} Degree in the Year 1617. when the ^{titles at} bustle of the Commencement was Walgrave. over, he retir'd to his Cure. Where (33.) he had been at the Expence, before he came, of Building, Gardening and Planting, so as to make the place fit and pleasant for all seasons of the Year. So that when he came, he had no preparations to make, but immediately to fall to the Enjoyment of his Retirement. And to make this compleat, and to secure himself from Laziness (the Disgrace of most retir'd Persons) he had provided a choice Collection of Books: to which (34.) he apply'd himself so very closely, that nothing but his great Temperance in his Diet could have preserv'd his Body from the Decay that his too much studying must necessarily

rily have brought upon him. Nor was he exemplary to the Countrey-Clergy only as a Student, but was likewise very Religious in the Observance of all the other Parts of his duty. For he read Prayers constantly upon *Wednesdays* and *Frydays*, expounded the Catechism in *Lent* and upon all Holy-days, and Preach'd duly Twice every *Sunday* at *Walgrave* or at *Grafton*, performing his Turn too at *Kettering*, a Market-Town hard by, in a Lecture supplied by a Combination of the best Divines thereabout. It was a common saying with him, *that the way to get Credit from the Nonconformists was to out-Preach them.* And so well was he lik'd for his Preaching, that his Church us'd to be throng'd with Gentry of the neighbouring Parishes, as well as his own.

(35.)
His Hospitality at Walgrave.

What was most remarkable of him while he was here, was his generous and open House-keeping, which was indeed very commendable in him. This made him very much visited by the Clergy all about, Rich as well as Poor. The Nobility and Gentry too were fond of him, and resorted frequently

quently to his House, not for the sake of his Table, but for the diverting Entertainment his good Consorts of Musick afforded them. For he kept with him the best Voices and Instruments he could get, being one that was mightily given this way himself. As by these means he lay'd *His Char-
ity.* Obligations upon the Gentlemen, so he purchas'd the Prayers of the Poor by his Charity. If any of his Poor Parishioners were sick, he was very constant in going to visit them, to pray with them and to bless them. And, to help them all that he could in their Afflictions, he would supply them with Money, and very often pay their Physicians himself; and would order something that was comfortable for them out of his own Kitching, as Broths, and Cordial Decoctions. There are few Instances, I believe, (if any) of those that grew the poorer for their Charity: Dr. *Williams* I am sure found it otherwise; for at this time, to increase yet his plentiful Income (as tho' it had been so order'd by Providence to maintain his great Liberality) he had a considerable Legacy fell to him by the Death of his

(36.) Kinsman *John Panton*, Servant at the same time with him to the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*: and immediately after this he was made Dean of *Salisbury*: So true is that observation of *Solomon's*, *the Liberal soul shall be made fat.*

He discharges well the Office of Justice of the Peace. But he continued still (tho' Dean) at *Walgrave*, the Place where he was so universally respected and belov'd. And what made him the more so, was his Office he had there of being Justice of the Peace; which he discharg'd with all the Skill and Conduct, as if he had been bred up to the Law. As he lov'd his Countrey, so he made it his Busines to serve and defend it, and that with all the undaunted Courage imaginable; but especially if any of the Clergy were oppress'd, to be sure he was very active and resolute in maintaining their Rights. If any private Quarrels and Bickerings were brought before him, he very rarely granted his Warrant to the Parties to proceed; but did all he could with Advice and fair speeches to reconcile them in his Buttery or Cellar: and rather than fail, he would pay the Damages all or

or in part, which the injur'd Person demanded. This doubtless is a piece of the most Christian-like Charity, that is to be met with in any Example; to save his poor Neighbours not only from emptying their purses in vexatious Law-suits, but likewise to keep them from running into those most unchristian and devillish passions of Hatred and Revenge, which (God knows) among such inconsiderate Wretches too often end in Blood-shed and Murder. But he had not follow'd this Practice long, before he was in a great Measure forc'd to lay it aside, when he found how some Rogues would put upon his good Nature, and fall out on purpose, that he might be at the Charge of making them Friends. Which shews that there is not out of Cities so much innocence and primitive simplicity as some have imagin'd, and that there are many shrew'd Countrey-fellows as cunning and politick in their way, as the Courtiers are in theirs.

Thus the Dr. continued at *Walgrave* doing Good, and very much

P 3 esteem'd

230 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

*He quits
the Deane-
ry of Salis-
bury for
that of
Westmin-
ster.*

See p. 57.

(45.)

*Takes care
of the
School at
Westmin-
ster.*

esteem'd for above Two years; when the Deanery of *Westminster* being at that time void, he requested of his New Patron the Marquess of *Buckingham*, that he might exchange the Deanery of *Salisbury* for that of *Westminster*, which was granted to him. Which piece of Preferment he valued so much the more, because it was near the Court, and so the fitter for his purpose, who probably had still an Eye to some farther Advancement. His Predecessors here were Men very eminent in their Time: Two above all were such incomparable Patterns, that it was the height of his Ambition to emulate them; Dr. *Andrews* for his great Care and Incouragement of Learning in the School, and Abbot *Islip* for his vast Expences upon the *Minster*. As soon therefore as he was possest of the Deanery, he took the School into his Consideration first: and there was scarce a week (when he was in the College) but he would go to the several Classes and instruct the Lads and take an Account of them, that so he might countenance and incourage the most hopeful and those of the

the best Parts. And seldom it was (even when he kept the great Seal) that he omitted to call out some of them to stand before him at Meal-Times (when he was most at Leisure) to give an account of their progress and Towardliness. Which notice of his repen'd the Youth so fast, that the Number sent out to both Universities was almost double to those that were remov'd in former Elections. Thus he had compass'd one considerable Part of his Desires. And the next Object of his (46.) Elumination was Abbot *Islip*. To Repairs the Abby. give him the better opportunity to Heylyn in shew his virtue this way, he found his Obs. on Chur. Hist. of Brit. the Church in a very great Decay. So he began to repair it at the South-East part, which look'd so much the p. 273. detracts more ruinous because it join'd to from Wil- Henry the 7th's Chappel, a later Build- liams's Magnifi- cence, but to the North-West part, which looks enily an- to the great Sanctuary. This was swer'd at [92, 93.] very far gone, and the great Buttresses were almost crumbled to Dust through the injury of the Weather; which he rebuilt with durable Materials, and adorn'd them with elegant

232 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

*Part. 2.
p. 507.*

(47.)
*Makes a
Library.*

*Found
four Scho-
larships.*

Statues; among which there was one to the memory of *Islip*, and another for his good Master King *James*, as *Sanderson* relates in his Reign, tho' Bishop *Hacket* says nothing of it. So that in this Work (all of his own cost) he expended 4500*l.* After he had taken care thus of the Fabrick of the Church, he bethought himself of the decent performance of God's Service in it; and to this End he procur'd the best Musick both for Organ and Voices, that could possibly be got. After this, he made a very good Library of a waste room in the East side of the Cloysters, furnish'd it with Desks, Chains, Books and other necessaries to the value of 500*l.* and more. And here he laid his choicest Manuscripts and Parchments. Besides these and other Benefits the College receiv'd from his bounty, he discharg'd a Debt of 300*l.* for them, which he found, when he came to look into their Accounts, they had contracted by their Entertainments and Treats. Not long after, he founded Four Scholarships, the Scholars distinguish'd from the rest by their violet Gowns, for whose maintainance he pur-

purchas'd Lands. And he did not only share his Riches amongst them here, but likewise, when in those Days a great part of the Liberties of the City were threatned to be cut off by the Encroachments of the Lord Steward of the King's Household, and the Knight Marshal, he withstood them manfully (as appears from a Letter of his to the Duke) and would accept of no Composition to let them share in the Cabal. p.
^{283.} Priviledges, which by Right they never had, but preserv'd the Charter of the Place intire in its Jurisdiction and ancient Immunities. So that he was happy indeed in the Place, but the Place was abundantly more happy in him.

He had not been Dean long before he was made Lord Keeper, being sworn into that Office on the 10th of July, 1621. having entred upon his Deanery on the 12th of the same Month in the foregoing Year. And immediately after the Great Seal was deliver'd to him he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, at which time, so great was his Favour with the King, that he obtain'd Three Bishopricks more for those he recommended to his Majesty. And at this very juncture of time it was that that [65.]
July 26.
1621.

famous Accident happen'd of Arch-bishop *Abbot's* Killing the L. *Zouch's* Keeper in *Brambill-Park*. Which Mischance defer'd the Consecration of these Bishops for some time; and tho' his Majesty (after a long and doubtful Debate amongst the *Civilians*) did at the last assoil the unfortunate and innocent Prelate from all Irregularity by the Broad Seal; yet the scruple stuck so much upon the Lord Keeper (as he gives his Judgment of the Fact in a Letter to the Duke) and upon the other Three Bishops Elect, that they besought the King, they might be consecrated by some other Bishops: and

[68.]

Cabal. p.
284.Cypr. Ang.
p. 88.

so it was, the Lord Keeper on the 11th of November being Consecrated Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the Chappel of King *Henry*, by virtue of a Commission under the Broad Seal, according to the Statute of King *Henry VIII*.

Cypr. Ang. But I cannot see how Dr *Heylyn* could p. 87. by a favourable Construction gather out of the Keeper's foremention'd Letter to the Duke, that this great Scruple of his proceeded not from his Caution, but merely from Interest, and that he had the Chair of *Canterbury* in his Eye, thinking (as he guesses) to

to compass it, by declaring the Archbishop Irregular. Certainly when an Historian is left to his Guesses, he should always incline to a favourable Interpretation of the Actions of others.

The Lord Keeper by reason of his great Imployment in the State, could not be spar'd, to reside upon his Diocess and have himself an immediate Inspection over his Clergy. But tho' he was *absent in Body*, yet was he *present in Mind*; and took all the possible Care he could to have a faithful account, from such able and diligent Persons as he intrusted, of all Occurrences in every Parish: over and above, he had the Name of every Parson and Vicar, could tell what they were all of them, as to their Learning, as well as their manner of Life and Conversation. He did (in short) as much as a Bishop could do, while for the space of almost Five Years his service to his King and his Countrey would not permit him to be resident. And they knew not that they miss'd him, till he came to live amongst them, and made a large Amends for his Absence when he settled at *Bugden*. But let his Bus'ness
be

be never so great, he was mindful of his Office as a Bishop, and never neglected Ordinations; every *Lent* too he preach'd before the King at his Chappel, and constantly upon the great Festivals of our Church, at *Westminster-Abbey*: on which Days he chanted the Prayers, and administred the Sacraments. And, it seems, there was but too great need of such Patterns, as the Bishop was, for preaching in those Times: for the King's Indulgence towards the *Papists*, and the Treaty with *Spain* going on at the same Time, made the Pulpits perfectly Declamatory; but above all they rung against the *Spanish Match*; insomuch that his Majesty silenc'd some, impri-
son'd some, and threatn'd to arraign others for their Lives, had not the Keeper interpos'd to mediate for them; upon which he was set on work by his Majesty to draw up some Directions for the due limiting of the Preachers,

Cypr. Ang. in which Bishop *Laud* too had a hand, as Dr. *Heylyn* says. Which Directions, together with his Majesty's Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (bear-

Wilf. Hist.
Gr. Br. p.
198, 199. ing Date *Aug. 4. 1622.*) you may read at large in several Historians. Which

In-

Wilf. Hist.
Gr. Br. p.
198.

Instructions, how a great many mur- Cabal. p.
mured against them then, putting an^{112.} ill Construction upon what was well meant, you may see in Dr. *Heylyn*; Cypr. Ang.
to whom I refer you, because at the^{p. 99, 100.} same Time that he clears the King and *Laud*, he likewise vindicates *Williams*, who according to *Hacket*, [89.] was the principal Contriver of that Scheme.

The present posture likewise of the King's Affairs (in the Year 1621.) made Frankl.
him think it convenient, that there Annals, p.
should be Favour shewn to the *Popish* 69.
Recusants, and to release the poorer sort out of Prison; which made the People very uneasy. And our Bishop (then Lord Keeper) being employ'd to copy out the King's Letters in this Affair to the Judges, and to set the *Broad-Seal* to his Majesty's Writs; he was traduc'd for a Favourer of the Church of *Rome*; nay so far, by a Ranting Fellow about the Town, that he was not far from receiving a *Cardinal's Cap* from *Rome* for his Services. When first he heard of this great Scandal, and that one *Sadler* was the Author of it, he pass'd it by with Contempt, and said only, That the Re-

[93.]

238 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

*Reporters saw the Oar under Water,
and thought it was crooked.* Never-
theless since Offence was taken at this
Indulgence to the *Papists*, the Lord
Keeper (to vindicate his Majesty as
well as himself) in a Letter to the
Lord Viscount *Anan*, truly satisfies
the World as to the Reasons of it;
which Letter is now extant in several
Books.

But let this one passage suffice, to shew how averse the Keeper was to the *Romish* Church, and how very jealous he was of their endeavouring to establish their Church-Government amongst us: When *Buckingham* was with the Prince at *Madrid*, he sends him a Letter, dated *August 30. 1623.* wherein he writes thus: ‘Dr. Bishop
‘the new Bishop of *Calcedon*, is come
‘to *London* privately, and I am much
‘troubled thereabouts, not know-
‘ing what to advise his Majesty in
‘this posture, as things stand at
‘this present. If you were shipp’d
‘(with the *Infanta*) the only Counsel
‘were, to let the Judges proceed with
‘him presently, to hang him out of the
‘way, and the King to blame my Lord
‘of *Cantuar*. or my self fot it. But
‘before

before you be shipp'd in such form
and manner, I dare not assent, or
connive at such a Course. It is (my
Gracious Lord) a most insolent part,
and an Offence (as I take it) against
our *Common-Law* (and not the Sta-
tutes only, which are dispenc'd withal)
for an *Englishman*, to take such a
Consecration, without the King's
Consent; and especially to use any
Episcopal Jurisdiction in this King-
dom, without the Royal Assent; and
Bishops have been in this State, put
to their Fine and Ransom for so do-
ing, three hundred Years ago.

Add to this, that some of the *Romish*
party petition'd my Lord of *Bucking-
ham* for Titulary *Popish* Prelates in
this Kingdom; upon which (not know-
ing well what to think of the Matter)
he sends to the Keeper for his Advice,
who immediately with the strongest
Reasons he could urge, put a stop to
the Motion. After this, when the Prince
was in *Spain*, the Keeper was cry'd
up afresh for a Promoter of the *Popish*
Interest, thinking (as they falsly urg'd
against him) that a Match with the *In-
fanta* would cause a Toleration of that
Religion, and then who likelier to be
pre-

[94.]

[122.]

prefer'd than he for his good Services. But a Paper, which at that time he presented to the King to cure Popular Discontents, shall answer for his Integrity; which Proposals had been publish'd, *had not the long Treaty set in a Cloud.* But the Original Draught of them is now to be seen in B. *Hacket.* And I am apt to believe, had his Book been but publish'd, or the several Original Papers in it, before the Historians of those Times wrote; that Bishop *Williams* had escap'd abundance of groundless Slanders, excepting we can suppose some of them obstinately bent to write for a Party, point-blank against their Knowledge.

And thus I have (I hope) rescu'd him from the Imputation of *Popery*; a Slander, w^{ch} it has been the hard Fate of our greatest and worthiest Prelates to suffer under, occasion'd all along by the Superstition of the Vulgar. But I shall clear him farther yet in this Point, when I shall tell my Reader, That he was by a far Greater Party judg'd to be *Puritannically* given; for I think our Bishop is the only Person of his Order, that I remember aspersed with p. 137, 138. two such contradicting Characters. And

[95.]
Heylyn's
Observat.
on the Hist.
of K. Ch.

I shall therefore labour the more earnestly to clear him in this point, because this last Calumny stuck closer to him. And at this very Day there are a great many living, that will hardly be brought over to think, the Bishop was a stanch Church-Man at the bottom. So that if I can remove this last Objection, I shall do not only a piece of Justice to his Lordship's Memory, but likewise some Service to the Episcopal Order it self: since the World is generally so unjust in its Censures, as to scandalize a whole Profession, if but one of its Members fail. And that I may not be thought to proceed out of Prejudice upon this point, I shall make no use of Authorities, and the good Word of such as were known to be the Bishop's Friends, but shall compare the Bishop with himself, and then leave my Reader to judge impartially what the Result may be; and what Interpretation his Actions will bear, making no Grains of Allowance for either Ballance.

First of all then, let me make an Observation, which tho' it may at first blush seem but a Trifle, yet if examin'd to the bottom may prove

Q of

*The Bp. no
Puritan:
Prov'd
from sever-
al Argu-
ments.*

of more force than any thing I know has as yet been urg'd in his behalf. You may remember in the *Second Part*, that the King had order'd him (when he was then but Dean of *Westminster*) to write a small Treatise for the use of the Lady *Catherine Manners*, who being Married to *Buckingham*, was newly converted from the *Romish* Church to ours. In the Letter, which he sent to the Marques's with some of the Copies, he tells him, that he *translated the Prayers from ancient Writers, that her Ladyship might see, we have not coin'd a new Worship, or service of God.* Now 'tis a very fair Conjecture, that, had he been Fanatically given, he had been apt to betray himself at so fair an opportunity, and 'tis odds but the motions of the Spirit (as they blaspheme) had led him from the reasonable sacrifice of the Ancients to some Enthusiastical transports of his own. I leave my Reader to improve this Argument, from the Hint I have given him, while I seek for somewhat else in the Bishops defence. I pass by his Benefactions to St. John's College in Cambridge, (no favourer or nurse-

nursery, I am sure, of *Puritans*) till I shall have time to give a more particular Account of those matters..

How great an admirer he was of our Liturgy, and how forward to promote the credit of it beyond Seas, is evident from the care he took to have it turn'd into *Spaniſh* and *French*, when the Treaties with those two Nations were in agitation. But especially he retriev'd the credit of our Religion with the *Spaniards*, who before that time took us for perfect Atheists, and thought that we had cast off all Religion when we shook off the *Pope*; and that we never us'd the Name of God, but profainly. In so much that the Constable of *Castile* being sent to swear the Peace formerly concluded with *Spain*, when he understood the Bus'ness was to be perform'd in the Chappel, where some Anthems were to be fung, he desir'd, that whatsoever was fung, God's Name might not be us'd in it, and then he was content they should sing what they pleas'd.

I may add here as a great argument of his Love to our Church,

Q 2

how

^{Third}
^{Arg.}

Spots.

^{wood Ch.}

^{Hift, of}

Scotland.

p. 530.

(103, &c.) how earnest he was to dissuade the Duke of *Buckingham* from the sale of the Church Lands, which was a thing first put into his Head and promoted by Dr. *Preston*; to satisfy whom Bishop *Williams* offer'd to give him his Deanery of *Westminster*, if he would but desist and urge the matter no farther to the Duke. He took what care lay in his power too, that no unworthy Members crept into the Church, and would intercede for Men of Merit with the Duke, even to the incurring of his Grace's displeasure; as may be seen from Two of his Letters yet extant. But to be sure when he prefer'd any himself, they were Men the best qualified for Virtue and Learning, and well affected to our most excellent Liturgy and Church-Government. All which things may for the present serve to take off the Reader's prejudice; not but that as we go on he will meet with several hints, which a Man of Reason may himself improve into so many arguments for the Orthodoxy of this Prelate.

His care

*to keep Fo-
reign Reli-
gions out of
the Nation.*

I cannot tell where to insert the Two following passages more properly

perly than here, and that because they seem to have some small relation to what we have just now concluded upon. The *Braziers* among the poor distrest Protestants in *Bohemia* petition'd King *James*, for leave to come over into *England* with their Wives and Children; upon which condition they would bring along with them their Substance, to the value of Two hundred thousand pounds, and submit themselves absolutely with all they had to his Majesty's Customs and Taxes. But then they desir'd that they might live in a Body, and have a free Enjoyment of their own Religion apart from us. His Majesty, thinking it might turn to his Advantage, was complying; but our Bishop (who was then Lord Keeper) dissuaded him, arguing from the Example of the *Dutch* and *French*, who were settled amongst us. Who indeed brought advantage by their Manufacture to the Nation; but then the Discipline, which by virtue of their Patent they transplanted too, did far more damage to our Church, than they by their Industry could profit the State.

246 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

*He ap-
proves not
of the
High-
Comis-
sion Court.*
(97.)

1. Eliz.
Cap. 4

(98.)

The next thing I would mention is with reference to the *High Commission Court*, in which after he was Dean of *Westminster* he always had a Vote amongst others; but so little did he relish this Ecclesiastical Court, that all the time he was Dean, he appear'd but once at *Lambeth* when the Court sat. And he would say, that the Institution of the Court was without exception good: and that no harm was to be fear'd from a good Prince in that Court; but then if God should give us a *King in his Anger*, given to oppression, he had a Statute would enable him to act wickedness by a Law. And besides this he did not approve of the multiplicity of Causes that were brought in here, and the severity of the Censures in this Court. He thought it hard that a Minister should be stript of all he had, if a scandalous Crime were prov'd against him. *But above all* (said he) *there is nothing of Brotherhood nor of Humanity in this, when we have cast a Priest out of doors and left him no shelter to cover his Head; that we make no provision for him out of his own for Term of Life,*

Life, to keep him from the Extremities of Starving or begging, those deform'd Miseries. And this is all that I find remarkable of him as a Church-Man till such time as the Great Seal was taken from him.

So that now we enter upon a fresh Scene of his Life, which will hold on quite to the End. For from hence forward we must not consider him in a Mixt Character, because he was no longer in any Office in the State; and tho' yet a while, he had the Title of a Privy-Counsellor, yet he was never admitted to the Board, And his Adversaries by their good Will would not so much as let him sit in Parliament; so that had he not had courage sufficient to grapple with them, they had depriv'd him at this time of his Right of Peerage. For (86.) [28.] Four years after his Consecration he had not time, for the multitude of his State Affairs, so much as to make his appearance in a Visitation amongst his Clergy. But nevertheless his Government was such as gave content to his whole Diocess. He manag'd all things with the greatest exactness by faithful Substitutes, who

From hence forward he has no Office in the State.

Four years absent from his Diocess.

gave him a just account of all things; so that he knew even the Name and Character of every one of his Clergy, and took care to encourage the Deserving. And they knew not that they wanted him, till he came now to live at *Bugden*, and made them a large Amends for his former Absence. He found the House here quite out of Repair and all Order, and the Place it self indeed not very entertaining, considering that he came here in the beginning of Winter; for it is but a very dirty Countrey for that Season. But in the space of one year he made a good Dwelling out of a ruinous Pile, and the most costly Furniture he had was the curious Collection of Paintings he had made. He beautified the Chappel too with all the Expence it was capable of. After this he planted Woods and Walks, fenc'd the Park and stor'd it with Deer. And he bought in all the Leafes belonging to the Demeafns, which through mis-managment were let out to the very Gates. His delight lay chiefly in the most innocent Pleasures of Gardening, so that he was profuse in his Expences this way,

[29.]
Comes to
live at
Bugden.

way, in Arbours, Flowers of the
choiceſt ſort, Orchards, Pools, Fish-
Ponds, with a Walk rais'd three foot
from the Ground, of about a Mile in
compaſſ pal'd in, and shaded on each
ſide with Trees; for walking was his
chief Exercise, which he uſ'd in fair
Weather for two Hours and more
every Day.

During the Time he liv'd here, the [30.]
Morning and Evening Service at his ^{Divine Ser-}
Chappel was decently perform'd, with ^{vice de-}
the Organ and other Musick, and the ^{cently per-}
best Voices that could be procur'd, ^{form'd at}
^{his Chap-}
the Bishop himſelf often bearing a *Te-* ^{Heylyn's}
nor Part amongſt them. And the Altar ^{Observ. on}
here was as in all Cathedral Churches, ^{Leſtr. Hifb.}
adorn'd with all things proper, as rich ^{of K. Cha.}
^{p. 136, &c.}
Plate, and other costly Utensils. And
this (notwithſtanding a worthy Person
has put a different Interpretation on his
Actions) ſeems a convincing Argument,
if you compare the Bishop all along
with himſelf, that he was in his Heart
a great Admirer of Decency in Divine
Worſhip in the highest Degree; how-
ever he might think fit in ſome Parish
Churches to comply with the Weak-
neſs of the People, rather than give
Offence to them. And I know not

what will become of Charity and good Nature, if a Man must be counted of a Party with all those he carries himself civilly and obliging to. I am sure if Jews and Infidels, deserve gentle usage from Us, those that have a far neerer Relation to Us, do much more deserve it. But I go on: The Bishop's passion for *Musick* was so well known, that the greatest Masters resorted to him from *London*, especially in the Summer-Time; to whom he was very liberal in his Gratifications; to one in particular, a Gentleman of the King's Chappel, he gave a Lease worth five hundred pounds.

His Hospi-

tality.

Sander-
son's King
James par.
2.p.507.K.
Ch.p. 24.

The Concourse that came to the Bishop's Chappel was very great; and his Table was for the most part well fill'd with Gentry, insomuch that one, who can hardly find in his Heart to give him a good Word, says, *That he liv'd at Bugden the most Episcopal of any of his Predecessors.* All the great Persons and Nobility that had occasion to travel that way, would call upon his Lordship, from whom they and their Retinue were sure of a hearty Welcome, and the best Entertainment. All the Neighb'ring Clergy too, nay and

and the very Yeomanry of Fashion, were free to come to his Table; and indeed he seldom sat down without some of the Clergy. I need not mention his Charity to the Poor; for if he was so careful of them when he was Rector at *Walgrave*, to be sure he did not take less care of them now he was Bishop, and more he could not well take. Of all things he did not love to live sparingly, and seclude himself from good Conversation: And it was his Saying, That he would spend his own while he had it; for he thought his Adversaries would not permit him long to enjoy it. And while some thought his Magnificence would run him into Debt, he was provident enough to look after his own Concerns, and to keep within Bounds, tho' they were very large ones.

[32.]

Had the Bishop not liv'd in the *His pleasant Company.* Plenty with which GOD had blest him, yet his Discourse and Artful way of suiting himself to his Guests was so very entertaining, that he was not like to be much alone. The Men of Wit and Learning from *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, made him frequent Visits, so that very often, take the Company

pany and Entertainments together, Bugden might resemble one of the Universities in *Commencement*-Time. And when he had Scholars about him, and such Company as could relish his Discourse, he would very often keep them up till Midnight, or later. But I must not forget one Thing of which he was always mindful at his Table. At Dinner a Chapter was read in the *English Bible*, by one of the Choirmasters, and at Supper another in *Latin* by one of his Gentlemen, for there was none of them but had at least so much Learning.

*The Go-
vernment
of his Fa-
mily.*

[37. 38.]

And this leads me naturally to speak of the Government of his Family; in which perhaps he was something too remiss, not out of any Neglect, or that he lov'd Disorder; but because he was not severe enough in punishing his Servants for their Faults. For a small Repentance would very often with him attone for a considerable Misdemeanour, which proceeded from a Good-natur'd Opinion he had, that there was some hopes in time even of the worst of Men, and that none were so bad, but that they had some Good in them. Hence it was that he would chide

chide very loud and angrily, but seldom proceeded any farther. But yet he discarded one or two that were incorrigible in their Disorders, and one for his Treachery, in transcribing some of his Letters, which he found in his Study, and sending them to his Enemies, to make their Advantage of them. But we must consider that his Lordship's Retinue was great, and not a few of them Sons to very good Men, which were prefer'd to wait upon him, not for the sake of Wages, but for the Advantage of being in a good Family. And these would not take it well to be kept under so much as the other Servants. These considerations do alleviate (tho' not excuse) what some laid to the Bishop's Charge, that he knew better how to keep himself blameless, than those he had about him. But what some censured him ^{Is censur'd} for having ^{for having} ^{plays acted} for, was, his permitting a Comedy to be acted once or twice before him in his Hall; nay, and upon a ^{Heylyn's} ^{Obs. on the} ^{Ch. Hist. of} Sunday Evening, upon which he had Ordain'd too, as one affirms; which Circum- ^{Brit. p. 243.} stance, if true, I wonder how it came to be omitted by the Author of his Life, who doubtless knew the Bishops private Actions

Actions the best of any Man. And he affirms, That *Lincoln* did no more in recreating himself with such Diversions, then he had seen that Grave Prelate Archbishop *Bancroft* do at *Lambeth*. And all that B. *Williams* answer'd, to such as objected against his pleasant way of Living when he was in Disgrace, was, *That he knew not what he had done, to live the worse for their sakes, that did not love him.*

*His Cauti-
on to avoid
Scandal.*

[35.]

And we may believe, that if he thought there was any ill, or any real occasion for Offence in what he did, that he would have abridg'd himself in his Diversions; for he was nicely scrupulous of any thing that he could in Charity suppose might be turn'd into a Scandal: for which reason, being himself Unmarried, he kept only Men Servants in his House. But nothing can be said more in praise of the Bishop's Family, than that it was the Nursery of several Noblemen's Sons: Those of the Marqueses of *Hartford*, of the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Leicester*, with many other Young Gentlemen about an Age, whereof some were his Relations, and his Countrey-men. These had Tutors,

(36.)
*Young No-
bility edu-
cated in his
Family.*

tors, of whom the Bishop took an Account, how their Pupils improv'd in Virtue and Learning. And to those that were in a manner fit for the Universities, before he sent them from him, he read himself a brief System of *Logick*; which Lectures even his own Servants frequented, that were capable of such Instructions. But his principal Care was, that they should be thoroughly grounded in the Principles of Religion; for which reason he committed not a Trust of so great Importance wholly to his Chaplain, but every *Lent* examin'd them every one from the Person of the highest Quality to the meanest Servant, in the Fundamental Questions of the Catechism.

The Magnificence of his Hospitalitie shews that Bishop *Williams* was [33.] His Liberality. free-hearted and generous; but if we add to this his great Liberality to Gentlemen of narrow Fortunes, and to poor hopeful Scholars in both Universities, we shall hardly be able to find his equal. For his Disbursements this way every year amounted to a Thousand, sometime to Twelve * Wilsons Hist. of Gr. Brit. p. 197. hundred pounds. * And there is a remarkable

markable Instance in History of his Bounty, which I will insert here. When *Monsieur de Molin* (a Famous Minister) fled over into *England* in the Time of the Persecution in *France*; the Bishop hearing of him, order'd his Chaplain Dr. *Hacket* to make him a Visit from him. And guessing that he might very probably be in want, he bids him carry him some Money, not naming any sum. Upon which *Hacket* said, that he could not give him less than Twenty Pound. *I did demurre upon the Sum* (says the Bishop) *to try you: is Twenty Pound a fit Gift for me to give a Man of his Parts and Deserts? Take an Hundred, and present it from me, and tell him he shall not want, and I will come shortly and visit him myself.* Which afterwards he did, and was as good as his Word in supplying his Wants while he was in *England*. I may mention here how great a Patron he was to his Countreyman *John Owen* the Epigrammatist, whom he maintain'd for several years; and when he died, he buried him and erected a Monument for him at his own cost. Upon which generosity

Athenæ
Oxon. Vol.

1. p. 400.

An. 1622.

rosity of his to this little Poet, one Rich.
of the Fraternity has compos'd an Bruch.
Epigram. There was hardly an in- Epig: He-
genious Person in *England*, but what caton..
he encourag'd; and that very wretch *Ottavo.*
that wrote so infamous a Libel on *Lloyd's*
this Bishop, had often experienc'd *Life of*
his *Liberality*; so that here I must *Printed*
clear Mr. *Cleaveland* from the scandal *with*
of it; for, not to mention that some *Cleave-*
Authors do acquit him, I am over and *lan l's*
above inform'd from a Worthy Per- *Poems.*
son now living, who has discours'd
with some of Mr. *Cleaveland's* Friends,
that he ever disown'd the Satyr in
his Poems against the Arch-Bishop of
York.

We have had occasion before to *His Ex-*
mention what vast Sums this Bishop *pence upon*
laid out upon Works of Magnifi- *publick*
cence and Building; but yet we have *Works.* [34]
not mention'd how he rebuilt the rui-
nous Palace of *Lincoln*, and brought
it in Three years Time up to as great
Strength and Beauty as it was in at
first. And because the Place was re-
mote from any helps to Learning, he
design'd a Library there; Timber was
hewn out, Books bought, and other
Benefactions ready, but the Foun-
der's
R

Wood.
Antiq.
Oxon.
p. 171.

der's Troubles, coming thick now upon him, put a stop to the proceedings; the Books were squander'd away, and the Souldiers took the Timber to make Fortifications. To these great Works of his we may add, the repairing of one side of *Lincoln* College in *Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Lincoln* is their *Visitor*; and the building of a most elegant Chappel for them. All which considering them to be done by the Bishop after his Fortunes began to decline, shew that, had his Power been but equal to his Will, his publick Benefactions had equal'd those of most Princes.

[39.]
He Preaches frequently.

Having spoken of his Hospitality, his Charity and his Magnificence, we will now consider him more immediately in his Episcopal Functions. And to mention first the Example that he gave to all his Clergy by his Preaching, his great frequency wherein made some set him out to the King as an upholder and encourager of *Non-Conformists*; which did not at all make him slacken his diligence, for he expected his praise from God, and

and not from Men. And from this Principle, I suppose, proceeded the great care he took in his Ordinations, without any respect of Persons, to lay hands only upon such as were duly qualified. Their Morals he could only judge of by the recommendations and testimonials of others; but their Intellectus he would soon fathom, and measure the Compass of their Learning; and he would not admit any so much as to the Office of a Deacon, that was not a Graduate with us, or in *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and his Answer to them was, *that it was not his Custom*. But so scrupulous was he as to their Competency in the Knowledge of Divine Matters, that when one that was a Minister, a Mr. of Arts and a Wit too, was presented to a considerable Living, when he perceiv'd the small stock he had of Learning, he would not give him Institution, till he had set him for three Months to read a System of Divinity. In those that he himself prefer'd neither Friends nor Favour nor any other consideration bias'd him. But commonly he was a Patron to such as never sought him;

[41.]
His Ordinations.

[42.]

260 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*
such whose humility obscur'd their
Worth.

His moderation. In the Beginning of King *Charles's* Reign there broke out a Division among the great Men of our Church, some approving and some disapproving of the Conclusions of the Synod of *Dort*. Which perhaps would never have risen to such a ferment, had things been carried with more indifference, and had deserving Men on both sides (without regard to Parties) been encourag'd. This was always the opinion of our Prelate, who propos'd for his Pattern *Whitgift*, *Bancroft*, *Harsnet*, *Andrews*, *Barlow*, *Overal*, and such like, who pleas'd all sides indifferently. Hence it is that he was affable and kind to the *Puritans*, whom first he won upon by kindness, and then would bring them over by his Arguments. And he told his Majesty too, that he took it to be the truest Policy, to buy over some of the Leaders of that Party to the Church with some good Preferments, that so they might bring their Followers with them.

His Courts well ord. To bring him now into his Courts; his knowledge in the Laws of the Land,

Land, the *Civil* and the *Canon Law*, qualified him excellently to discharge his duty there punctually. He us'd to lament the narrow bounds the *Civilians* had for their Practice, and the small Encouragement for their Studies; but then he told them, that unless they proceeded with great integrity in their Courts, their Little would soon come to nothing. He watch'd his Officers narrowly, that they were not exacting in their Fees, and would not suffer them to make Bus'ness expensive by needless delays; nor would he trust his Chancellour and Commissaries in a Cause of any moment, but always took it in hand himself. And so willing was he to right the People and to ease them from all possible Trouble, that he would often ride to those Parts of his Dioces that were farthest from his Home, to keep his Court, where such as had Causes to come on might be at hand to attend them. And he would not suffer the Church-Wardens to be cited about placing the Communion-Table, nor the People for not coming to the Rail to receive the Sacrament. Whereas the Practice

[44.]

of *Laud* was quite contrary, who requir'd a strict confirmity in all Things.

[47, to 61.] I shall not dwell here upon his Consecration of Churches, nor give a particular Account of his two Visitations. An. 1629. in this Diocese; in the first of which he discover'd an Imposture, that pretended to Inspiration at St. *Ives* in *Huntington-shire*; and in the second it is worth the Readers while (that has so much leisure for his diversion) to see how he was entertain'd at a Religious Family of the *Farrars* at *Little-Giding* in the same County, and how kindly he encourag'd them to persist in the Service of God. Nor shall I mention here the circumstances of his triennial Visitations over the whole Diocese, and the Charges deliver'd by him at such Times; one of which given at *Bedford*, in the end of the Year 1634. you may read at large in Bishop *Hacket*, together with what things I mention'd before. But this let me add before I have done with his Episcopal Functions, that there was no Prelate more frequented than he was, to compound Differences, and to make up

*Is much re-
sorted to in
Differences
& in scrup-
ples of Con-
science.*

up Agreements, which else might have broke out into expensive Law-Suits; and to settle Cases of Conscience, and those mostly in Matrimonial Scruples. And when he thought [62.] the doubting Person would not be satisfy'd with Discourse, he was at the trouble of drawing up his Resolutions at length in Writing for him. Which gather'd together, and digested as I have seen them (says Bishop *Hacket*) would have made a very handsom Treatise.

And since I have mention'd his *Undertakes* Writing, I will insert here, That al-<sup>a Comm.
on the Bi-</sup>though while he was immers'd in State-ble. Affairs, he had not the leisure of a Writer; yet when he was retir'd to his Bishoprick, he undertook Two very great Designs for the Publick. The First was a Comment in *Latin* upon [40.] the whole *Bible*; at which Work he study'd so hard, as to impair his Health very much. The Notes collected from all good Authors, with the Bishop's own Hand, were formerly to be seen in the Custody of Mr. *Gouland*, Keeper of *Westminster-College Library*. And his Lordship knowing well, that to perform such a Task compleatly was

above the Abilities of any one Man, he did intend to leave it to be finish'd by Twelve or more of the best Scholars in the Nation, whom he had in his Eye, and was willing to give them Twenty Thousand Pounds rather than it should be left unfinish'd. The next thing he entred upon was to publish the Works of his Predecessor *Robert Groft-head*, who wrote several Books against the Ambition and Covetousness of the Church of *Rome*. These being in Manuscript, and scatter'd up and down, the Bishop search'd all the Libraries Foreign and Domestick where he had any correspondence, and digested what he could get of them, and wrote Arguments upon divers Parts of them. But whilst he expected more daily of the same Author, his Troubles in the *Star-Chamber* coming on, they put a stop to both these great Undertakings of his. Of which Troubles we have spoken before, and how at last he was releas'd from the *Tower*, and how generously he forgave his Enemies. So that now we fall in again in the order of Time with the Conclusion of the former Part, where we left him in the Year 1640.

*And so
publish Bp.
Groftead's
Works, who
flourish'd
in the
Reign of
Hen. VII.
Athen. Ox.
p. 5. Baleus
de Script.
Brit. Cent.
4. nu. 18.*

It

It was not now a time for an Honest Man to busy himself about his own private Injuries, when the publick Interest of the whole Nation lay at stake; which wholly took up the Bishop's Thoughts. So that he made no delay to practice all the Arts and Contrivances he could think of, to reduce the murmuring *Scots*, if possible to some Terms of Agreement. He applies himself in the first place to *James Marquess of Hamilton* (whose Acquaintance he industriously shunn'd before) and advises with him what Methods were best to make the *Scots* Loyal. But yet he us'd him sparingly and with Caution, because he did not well know what to make of the Man; only he said, That he found him quite contrary to the Vulgar Opinion, by which he was reputed False and Cunning; for he thought him true in his Affections to the King, and so far from being Cunning, that he rather seem'd to want a *Reach*. In the next place, his Lordship insinuates himself into *Henderson*, and some of his Crew; he makes Presents to them, feasts them, tenders what Pay the King could afford to their Leaders. But the

[143.]

House of Commons (knowing as well as he what Mettle the *Scots* were made of) out-bid him quite, and voted such a Sum of Money by way of *Brotherly Assistance*, as the King was not able to come up to, much less to surpass. Therefore when this fail'd, the Bishop attacks them after another Manner. He desires that they would not quarrel with the *Church of England*, but An. 3. Eliz. remember what Vows their *Kirk* had made, never to molest the Peace of this Nation. And this stagger'd some of that Faction; but the Gold on the other side at last quite overweigh'd his Lordship's Arguments, and render'd them ineffectual. So that now [144.] he tries how he can work upon the *Presbyterians*, with whom he was more in Favour than any other Bishops. He urg'd his Reasons to them so prudently, and wrought upon them with the Spirit of Meekness, in such a soft engaging way, that they could not but have a great Esteem for him, tho' of another side; and they did all they could with the greatest Offers they had, to buy him over to theirs. Some of them (when they saw how candid he was) made their Complaints to him

him of the Severity of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and of the rough usage they met with from some of the Prelates, upon which he excus'd the Matter; but still pleaded for *Episcopacy*, and *Church Government*. As [145.] far as Charity would allow, he would hear them discourse their Points civilly, but when he saw, *That they aim'd more at a regulated Crown, than at a regulated Mitre*, he would bear no longer with them. But in the Com- [146, 147.]
mittee of Lay and Clergymen for the Mar. 1.
Church Affairs, where the Bishop of ^{1640.} Laud's Lincoln had the Chair, he behav'd Troub. p.
himself so much to the Content of ^{174.} Cypr. Ang.
the Nonconformists, that they admir'd ^{p. 472.} Fuller's
his Conduct and his Curtesy. ^{Ch. Hist.}

While the Affairs of the Nation B. XI.
were in this Disorder, and the Bishop ^{p. 174.}
was daily consulted in Matters of Con- [148, 149.]
sequence; he was at the same time ^{The Trial of}
taken up too with some Considerations ^{the E. of}
preparative to the Trial of the ^{Lefstrang.}
most Noble, and most Unfortunate Earl of Strafford; which was the most ^{K. Ch. p.}
Pompous and Magnificent Scene of ^{219.}
Judgment that was ever represented in this Island. This Great Man's Troubles gave Lincoln Occasion to shew

shew his Abilities in Two Points: First, about the Circumstance of the Examination of the Cause: Secondly, whether at this Earl's Trial, the Bishops might be admitted to vote amongst the Peers, it being a *Case of Blood*. To which he determin'd, that Bishops [150, &c.] in *England* might and ought to vote in such a Case. I omit the Transcription of his Reasons and Arguments upon both these Heads, and leave it to every Man to consult them as he thinks fit. But for all his Opinion declar'd, the Bishops were not present at the Trial.

[160.]
The Bishop
blam'd a-
bout the
Earl of
Strafford.

But it is objected against the Bishop of *Lincoln*, that tho' he pleaded strongly in *Parliament* to his own Peril, in behalf of the Earl of *Strafford*, yet he perswaded the King to consent to his Death. It is my business to relate the Matter briefly and fairly, and let it in all its Circumstances plead for it self; for if they cannot excuse it, I am sure it is not fitting I should. How much the most Incomparable *Strafford* was the Hated of a Turbulent and Mutinous People may be seen in all the Historians that mention him: As likewise how

[161.]

how very Clamorous they were for his Life, and how vehemently they thirsted after his Blood. The *Commons* they were resolv'd their Sentence past upon him should stand, and they would have his Head before they proceeded one step further in the Affairs of the Nation. The very Person of the King was in danger, if he withheld them; nay, and there was a Plot on foot against the Earl, in case the King refus'd to sign the Bill for his Beheading; for they were resolv'd to have him one way or other. When the Brave Earl heard this, he wrote to the King, *That he was well prepar'd for his End, and would not his Gracious Majesty should disquiet Himself to save a ruin'd Vessel that must sink.* So there appearing no Hopes at all of saving him, the *House of Lords* send Four Bishops, *Usher, Morton, Williams* and *Potter*, to advise his Majesty in this Difficulty, and to deliberate whether in Conscience he might yield to the obstinate Clamours of the People. And they state the Question thus to Heylyn's the King: *Since his Majesty refers his own Judgment to his Judges, and they* ^{Resp. Petr.} *are to answer it, if an Innocent Per-* ^{p. 149,} *son* ^{&c.}

son suffers; why may he not satisfy his Conscience in the present Matter, that since competent Judges in the Law had awarded, That they found the Earl guilty of Treason, to suffer that Judgment to stand, tho' in his own Mind he was satisfied that the Lord Strafford was not criminous? The Four Bishops gave their Opinions in the Affirmative, laying the Blame wholly on the Judges; and the Noble Earl was so far from taking it ill, that the Lord Primate assisted him in all his Preparations for a Better Life, and was with him on the Scaffold to the very last Moment of his Life. This is the plain Matter of Fact, so far as I can see, without Surmises on the one side or the other.

Sander-
son's K.Ch.
p. 415, 416.

But a certain Historian, that relates things false as often as true, tells us, That the Bishop of *Lincoln* play'd a base Trick, and put a Paper into the King's Hand privately, which did the Earl's Business for him: the absurdity of which Narration was sufficiently evidenc'd before; but since there has been a greater insight into the Matter, and 'tis well known that the Paper, which the Bishop put into his Majesty's Hand,

Heylyn's
Rep. Petr.
p. 153, &c.

[162.]

Hand, was only his humble Advice, to perswade him not to pass the Bill for a *Perpetual Parliament*. And but two Days before, he ask'd the King, *If his wise Father would have suffer'd such a Thing as an Indefinite Parliament to be demanded, much less have granted it? And, Whether it would be possible for his truest Subjects to do him Service any more?* But yet for all this, with the same Drop of Ink he sign'd the Bill for this *Parliament*,^{On Monday Morn-ing the 10. of May, 1641.} and for *Strafford's Execution*; as if it were impossible his Royal Prerogative should stand, when *Wentworth* the great Prop of it was fallen.

Now the King prepares for a Journey into *Scotland* to appease the Seditious there. But the Bp. of *Lincoln* in- treated his Majesty to put off his Journey thither for the present; and to consider, That the *Scotch* would reveal all he did or said amongst them to their Partners at *Westminster*, with whom they held a mutual Correspondence: 'That they had been tumultuous now for two Years, and that to pacify them on a sudden was a thing impossible in all probability. They have been rebellious so lately, that

[163.]
Baker's
Chron. 6.
August.
The Bishop
advises the
K. not to go
to Scot-
land.

'that it is too soon to offer them
'Courtesy; and they knowing in
'what Condition your Majesty is,
'will take it not for Kindness, but
'for Fear. Keep near to the *Par-*
liament, all the Work is within
'those Walls; do what you can to
'win them Man by Man. And Sir
'(continues he) I wish what I shall
'tell you were not true; *Some of the*
Commons are preparing a Declara-
tion to make the Actions of your Go-
vernment odious: Stir not till you
have mitigated the Grand Contrivers
with some Preferments. But is this
credible? says the King. Judge you of
that, Sir, (replies the Bishop) when a
Servant of Pym's (in whose Master's
House all this is moulded) came to me,
to know of me in what Terms I was
contented to have my own Case in
Star-Chamber exhibited among other
Irregularities. And I had much ado
to keep my Name, and what concerns
me, out of these Quotations: but I ob-
tain'd that of the Fellow, and a Pro-
mise to know all they have in Contri-
vance, with some Money that I gave
him. But the King never regarded
the Bishop's Advice: and indeed his

Ma-

Majesty could not endure to be near Westminster, if he could help it; for one of the Bed-Chamber has been heard say, *That nothing made him remove so far from his Court and Council, as the tediousness of Intelligence brought to him every Minute, with variety of Glosses and Opinions upon it.*

While the King was in the North, [164, 165,
the Miseries of the Church began to
increase. But notwithstanding the
universal Contempt of Episcopacy at
this time, Lincoln visited his Diocese
in October in his own Person; which
was the last Visitation, during those
unhappy Times, in either Province.
He saw there was great need at pre-
sent to confirm and to strengthen the
People, and to heal the many Divi-
sions, that were daily made amongst
them. But as soon as he had finish'd
his Task, and was return'd again to
sit in Parliament, he heard a Murmu-
ring against him in the Lower-House,
not only for visiting his Diocese, in
such unsettled Times, but likewise
because he had told the People in di-
vers places, *That no Power could pro-
tect them against the Statutes still in
force, that fell into Disorders and De-*

S *viations*

166.]
The Bishop
visits his
Diocese in
the trouble-
some Times.

viations against them. So earnestly did the Bishop urge the People to a Conformity with the Church by Law Establish'd. And to clear himself, at a Conference between the *Two Houses* in the *Painted-Chamber*, he justify'd his Visitation and his Endeavours, to silence unlicenc'd Preachers, who were as bold, as if they were subject to no Government at all.

*The King
returns
from Scot-
land.*

*Baker's
Chron.*

[167]
*The Parl.
set against
the Bishops.*

And now on the 26th of Nov. the King came again to *London* from *Scotland*; and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, as at other Times, so now had the misfortnne to have his Foresight of Things confirm'd by the Event. He had forwarn'd his Majesty of ill Designs, and of that *Remonstrance*, which the *Commons* publish'd on the 15th of December, by the Name of *A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, wherein all the Trips and false Steps (in their Judgment) committed by his Majesty since he came to the Crown, and before, to that very Time, were represented with most undutiful and malicious Aggravations. Besides this, at his coming home, he found his *Clergy* and his *Bishops* in a fair way to be trampled under foot, and the *Parliament* were

re-

resolv'd to sit it out, till they had accomplish'd their Designs; which were, to seclude the *Clergy* from all Secular Affairs, and to vote the *Bishops* out of the *Parliament-House*. His Majesty saw the Danger of this even to Himself, and did all he could to patronize the *Bishops*; and at this Time prefer'd some Worthy Men to vacant Bishopricks: and among the rest translated *Lincoln* to the Arch-bishoprick ^{Bishop of} *of York*, and gave him leave to hold ^{Lincoln} *translates* the Deanery of *Westminster* in *Com-* ^{to} *York*. *mendam* for three Years longer, that he might have a place of Residence near the *Parliament*; his Majesty expecting that it could not continue much longer than that. But the *Parliament* held on much longer, and the Bishop never after one half year saw his Deanery more.

His Grace prov'd all along in this *Parliament* a stout and an able Champion for the Bishops notwithstanding the great Affronts and strong Oppositions they met with. And so remarkable was his zeal for them, that when his Majesty once saw him so very earnest to defend Episcopacy then oppos'd by the *Parliament*, My

Yorke defends the
Bishops in
Parliament.
Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI. 226.

Lord (says the King) I commend you, that you are no whit daunted with all Disasters, but are zealous in defending your Order. Please it your Majesty (replies the Arch-Bishop) I am a true Welshman, and they are observ'd never to run away, till their General do first forsake them. No fear of my flinching whilst your Majesty

[168.]

doth countenance our Cause. And in the foregoing May when the Privileges of the Bishops were call'd in Question, Williams in a Committee of the Lords stood up for his Brethren and maintain'd their Cause in a long Speech, which may be seen all faithfully transcrib'd out of his own Co-

[176.&c.] py. So that he laid the design of bringing a Bill against them asleep for five Months, till this time when it began to come again into play.

Hollis,
Hallerig,
Hamden,
Pym and
Strode.
And now about Christmas the Mob was all in an uproar about the King's coming to the House of Commons to demand their Five Members impeach'd for Treason. After they had

The Arch-
Bishop de-
fines
Westm.
Abby from
the Mob.
made a Tumult for some time about Whitehal, the cry went for Westmin-ster, and the general Voice was, Let us pluck down the Organs, and deface the

the Monuments. When the Arch-Bishop of York (who was Dean of Westminster) heard of this, he made

Fuller's
C. H. B.
XI. p. 185,
186.

fast the Doors of the Abby against them; and when they would have forc'd them open, they were beaten off with stones from the top of the Leads; the Arch-Bishop in the mean time maintaining the Abby with a few more, for fear the Rabble should seize upon the *Regalia*, which were in that Place under his Custody. But within an hour, after the Multitude had been sufficiently pelted with stones from above, a few of the Arch-Bishop's Men open'd a door and rushing with their drawn Swords, dispers'd them all. But from this Time the Bishops durst not come near the Parliament House either by Land or Water, the Passages were so beset against them, and they so vehemently threaten'd by the People.

Upon this the Arch-Bishop with Eleven more of his Brethren meet the next day in his Lodgings. There he draws up a Petition and Protestation, first to crave Protection, and upon want thereof a positive Declaration, that whatsoever was done at the

The Pro-
testation of
the Bishops.

Decemb.

27.

Lords

Lords House during their forc'd and involuntary Absence was invalid, and of none Effect. The other Bishops relying upon *York's* great Knowledge in the Laws, did at his Request set D. Lloyd's *Life of Williams.* their Hands to it. And the Lord Keeper when he saw it, did profess, That it was the strongest and the fullest of Law of any that ever he saw in his Life: For the Bishop had modell'd it exactly by one of the same nature that he had found in the Records of the Tower, which he studied there, to the no small Prejudice of his Eyes.

The Bishops sent to the Tower. On the 30th of December the Petition was read in the House, and the Bishops thereupon accus'd by the Commissioners of High-Treason, For endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental-Laws of this Realm, and the Being of Parliament, by preferring this Petition and Protestation. And upon this Accusation, they were committed to the Tower, where they must remain for Cypr. Ang. 18 Weeks. Now the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who had been in the Tower for some time, had a better Neighbourhood than he desir'd, but no better Company than before; for on both sides they were agreed not to converse, lest p. 492.

lest their Enemies should be exasperated at it, thinking they might plot together. But they often sent to one another Messages of Love and Consolation. Which mutual Civilities were Laud and Williams reconcil'd. scarce omitted for so much as a Day betwixt the Two Arch-bishops, notwithstanding all their great Differences before. So that whatever the former Scene of their Life was, the concluding Act was nothing but Peace and Love; a signal Instance both in *Buckingham* and in *Laud*, of the good Providence of that *God*, which *maketh Men to be of one Mind*.

Never sure were any Pack of the The Bishops libelled. blackest Villains so servily treated, and so abus'd, as were the Bishops at this Time. Whole Reams of Paper were wasted in Scurrility and Scandal upon them, adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar. One Notable Ballad among Nelson's Coll. vol. 2. p. 807. the rest, the Reader may see yet extant, which was made for a *Newyears-Gift* for the Bishops, upon their being committed to the *Tower*. And Cypr. Ang. p. 492. the Arch-bishop of *York* in particular was now as deep in the Hatred of the Common-People, as was the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. His Picture was

cut in Brass in his Episcopal Robes, with his square Cap on his Head, Bandileers about his Neck, (with reference to his Defence of the Abby) and a Musket on his Shoulder, with a Rest in his Hand; and abundance of other Buffoonery, which made him merry with the Conceit of it.

*The Bill
passes for
excluding
the Bishops
from Parl.*

While the Bishops were thus secur'd in the Tower, and scarce any body left to speak in their behalf, then the Bill against them was brought in, and on the Sixth of February it pass'd currently in the House of Lords. For which they Themselves after suffer'd in the same sort from the Commons, as the Bishops did now from them: The Lords Temporal depriv'd the Bishops of their Right, and the Commons they excluded the Lords Temporal from theirs. Which Consequence might have been foreseen had they listen'd to the Marquess of Dorchester, who upon the 21. of May ask'd his Peers, *Which of your Lordships can say he shall continue a Member of this House, when at one Blow Six and Twenty are cut off?*

There

There was nothing now wanting ^{The King signs the Bill.} to ratify the Exclusion of the Bishops from the Parliament, and all Secular [181.] Affairs, but the Consent of the King. An. 1642. For which Consent of his several have accounted several ways; some urging Necessity, some the hopes of appeasing the Nation by it for the present, till he saw a fitter time to restore the Bishops again. But my Author gives us this Narration of the Matter. When the King went with the Queen to Dover, to see her take Shipping for France, the Queen (whom his Majesty lov'd entirely) would not leave him till he sign'd this Bill against the Bishops; and what made her so urgent, was, that she was perswaded into an Opinion by Sir John Culpepper (who attended there for that Dispatch) that the Lords and Commons would press his Majesty no more so much against the Grain, if this one Bill were but sign'd; upon which hopes the King comply'd. And York told me (says Hacket) in the Tower, That the King had sacrific'd the Clergy to this Parliament, by Artifices contriv'd at Dover, a Day before the News was brought to London.

* And this Relation seems to agree ^{* Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. XI. p. 195.}

282 *The LIFE of ABP. Williams,*

(bating the Circumstance of the Place) with one Author more, who says the Cypr. Ang. Bill was sign'd at *Canterbury*; as like-
P. 493. wife does Dr. *Heylyn*, on the 14th of
P. 498. February. But upon the 5th of May
The Bishops releas'd from Pri-
son. the Bishops were releas'd from the Tower, upon *Bail*, by the Peers, and dismiss't to their respective Dwellings: at which Time *York* went privately away after the King, and never return'd again. So that from henceforward he enjoy'd nothing but Trouble to his very dying Day. Which makes me pity him the more, because his Miseries now took the Advantage of him: For Adversity which is in a manner but necessary to lay a dead weight upon the Extravagancies of Youth, and to Discipline the unexperienc'd, is of no real Advantage to Age, and added to the Burden of Years, must needs prove intolerable.

The ABP. follows the King to York. Now the King was in *York*, and the Archbishop with several other Lords and Gentlemen, came here to offer their Service to his Majesty; amongst whom no Man was readier than his Grace with his Assistance. This was the first time he had seen his Bishoprick, which was conferr'd upon him about 7 Months before;

before; and wherein he promis'd himself much Satisfaction, by settling here, and living amongst the Gentry of this County, in the Splendor and Hospitality suiting his Dignity. But the common Fate of the Nation grew too apparent, to encourage any such hopes now, and things were so imbroil'd, that he could never settle his Family here. But to proceed with the Affairs [185, 186.] in which *Williams* was so much concern'd; no Man being more active to the utmost of his Abilities, to serve the King in this County.

The King had at *Hull* a Magazine The King is deny'd Entrance at Hull. of Arms and Ammunition, which was first provided for the late intended War against the *Scots*, and lay there ever since. His Majesty intended to possess himself of this Town, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his Preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was deny'd Entrance by Sir *John Hotham*, who by Orders from the *House of Commons* had newly taken Charge of that Place. Upon this the King proclaiming him a Traitor, was forc'd to retire, and bear the Indignity, for the *Parliament* would give him no Re-

Baker's
Chron.

Redress. But the *Hothams* the Father and Son, made a Sally out of the Town after, with a Design, to take *Cawood-Castle*, where the Arch-bishop was. Late at Night the sad News was brought to his Grace, that he must remove thence, and leave the Country, as he tender'd his Life; for Young *Hotham* was preparing to come with sufficient Force by five a Clock next Morning to take the Castle, and had drawn his Sword in a hectoring manner, with a Vow to cut off the Arch-bishop's Head. Upon this, his Grace knowing the Temper of the Man, and that he had spoke much against him for his Disloyalty, and the Castle being ruinous and unfortified, he makes his escape thence after Midnight, with some few Horse, and what Goods he could carry off at so short a Warning, and left the Charge of the Castle to Mr. *Roger Nightingale*, a Gentleman of the King's Chapel. Thus was he forc'd to leave his Diocese, without any Provision for his Journey, without a Sumpter, without change of Apparel, and almost without Money; for all he could gather among his Tenants, while he was in

[187.]

The ABP.
at Mid-
night
makes his
Escape
from
Cawood-
Castle.

in *Yorkshire*, was little enough to furnish the King. But he had the good Fortune to meet his Majesty in the way, raising an Army, and beating up for *Volunteers*, in whose Service the Arch-bishop left the stoutest of his Followers, and kept but a very slender Retinue to follow him. At parting, upon his bended Knee (with Tears streaming from his Eyes, and hearty Prayers for his Majesty, he kiss'd his Hand, and receiv'd a Pass from him, to carry him safe into his own Countrey.

So now the Arch-bishop was come to *Aberconway* in *Caernarvonshire*, from whence he had been absent (except it were an accidental Visit, or so) for near fifty Years. And never did any People stand in greater need of a Wife and Couragious Person, to advise and to protect them, than the *Welsh* did at this Time; and no Man more proper for such an Undertaking than the Bishop. Who was very watchful in the first place, to detect such as held private Intelligence with the Enemy, several of which he secur'd, and made the rest fly for it. And to procure the Blessing of GOD upon his Endeavours; he set all *North-Wales* upon a more

*He meets
the King in
his way.*

*He arrives
at Aber-
conway in
Wales.*

[208.]

more earnest practice of their Religion, and order'd that frequent Prayers should be had in all Churches, with Fasting, and that Ministers should preach weekly, and no Man was oftner in the Pulpit than himself. After this, he made it his Business to unite all the Great Families in one common Interest, whose Emulation otherwise towards one another had drawn them off from the Service of the King. And for this Reason, he thought it might be most convenient, if he could get the Countrey all together, to fortify one place, and to appear in a Body, by which means they would be more secure, and more manageable too. Which thing at last he effected, and of which I shall give a plain and faithful Narrative, without any Glosses upon it; because it is what makes the greatest noise in our Historians, of all the Actions of the Bishop's Life.

*The ABP.
fortifies
Conway-
Castle.*

Conway-Castle was the place, that the Bishop had pitch'd upon for the general Defence of the Countrey. And so indefatigable was he in collecting Money, gathering Forces, repairing the Castle, casting up Works, in writing, sending, and making Interests, that he did

did as much as all the *Adjutants* besides, and more than his Health could well bear; which before was ever florid, but now began to droop, and continu'd from hence forward to decline. All this he undertook at his own proper Cost and Peril, without any Order from, or Notice of the King. But so soon as his Majesty heard of his Loyalty, he wrote often very kind and affectionate Letters to his Grace, of which so many as belong to the Business of *Conway-Castle* more immediately, are yet extant; one of which to give the more Satisfaction to my Reader, I shall transcribe here.

[209.]

From Oxford, Aug. 1. 1643.

CHARLES R.

Most Reverend Father in God, &c. The King,
We are inform'd by our Servant Letter to *Orlando Bridgman, not only of the good* the ABP. *about Encouragement and Assistance you have* the Castle. *given him in our Service, but also of your own Personal and Earnest Endeavours to promote it. And tho' we have had long Experience of your Fidelity, Readiness and Zeal in what concerns us; yet it cannot but be most*

ac-

acceptable unto us, that you still give unto us fresh occasions to remember it. And we pray you to continue to give all possible Assistance to our said Servant. And whereas you are now resident at our Town of Aberconway, where there is a Castle, heretofore belonging to our Crown, and now to the Lord Conway, which with some charge is easily made defensible: but the Lord Conway being imprison'd by some of our rebellious Subjects, and not able to furnish it, as is requisite for our Service, and the Defence of those parts: You having begun at your own charge to put the same into repair, We do heartily desire you to go on in that Work, assuring you that whatsoever Moneys you shall lay out upon the Fortification of the said Castle, shall be repay'd unto you, before the Custody thereof shall be put into any other hand than your own, or such as you shall recommend.

Upon the backside of this gracious Letter, this the Arch-bishop has written with his own hand:

I Jo. Arch-bishop of York, have assign'd my Nephew Mr. Wil. Hooks Esq; Alderman of Conway, to have the Custody of this Castle, mention'd in his Majesty's Letter under his Signet, until I shall be repay'd the Moneys, and Money-worth disburs'd by me in the repair thereof, by virtue of this Warrant. And in case of Mortality, I do assign my Nephew Gryffith Williams to the same effect. Jan. 2. 1643.

Some time after this, his Majesty wanting the Assistance of the Arch-bishop at Oxford, writes to him to come there to him, and to bring along with him the best Intelligence he could procure of the Condition of his Majesty's Affairs. Upon this he sets out upon his Journey, notwithstanding the Ways were very much beset, and came to Oxford in January, and was kindly receiv'd at the Court; where he foresaw his stay must be but short, for the City was so crowded with Nobility and Gentry, that it could not entertain them long; neither could so many of the King's Trusty Friends be spar'd from their Counties any considerable

The King sends for him to Oxford.
[212.]
Decemb.
16. 1644.

siderable time. His Grace therefore made the most use he could of his Time, in giving Counsel to the best of his Knowledge and Experience to his Majesty. One Prophetical Discovery which he made to his Majesty at this Time, is worth the remarking:

The ABP. For, he said, *That Cromwel, taken in-Advice to the King about Cromwel.* to the Rebels Army by his Cousin Hambden, was the most dangerous Enemy that his Majesty had. For tho' he were at that time of mean Rank and Use among them, yet he would climb higher. I knew him (says he) at Bugden, but never knew his Religion. He was a Common Spokesman for Sectaries, and maintain'd their Part with stubborness. He never discours'd as if he were pleas'd with your Majesty, and your great Officers; and indeed he loves none, that are more than his Equals. Your Majesty did him but Justice in repulsing a Petition put up by him against Sir Thomas Steward, of the Isle of Ely; but he takes them all for his Enemies, that would not let him undo his best Friend: and above all that live, I think he is the most mindful of an Injury. He talks openly that it is fit some should act more vigorously against your Forces, and

and bring your Person into the Power of the Parliament. He cannot give a good Word of his General the Earl of Essex, because he says the Earl is but half an Enemy to your Majesty, and hath done you more Favour than Harm. His Fortunes are broken, that it is impossible for him to subsist, much less to be what he aspires to, but by your Majesty's Bounty, or by the Ruin of us all, and a common Confusion. In short, every Beast hath some evil Properties; but Cromwel hath the Properties of all evil Beasts. My humble Motion is, that either you would win him to you by Promises of fair Treatment, or catch him by some Stratagem, and cut him short. All which the King receiv'd with a smile, and said nothing.

After the King had advis'd with his The K. ad-
Parliament at Oxford, and saw that little
vises with
the ABP.
good came of it, but that Things re-
main'd much in the same ticklish po-
sture; his Majesty call'd a few able
Statesmen to him in private, the prin-
cipal among them being the Arch-
bishop; who therefore was desir'd to
speak first, and freely to declare what
means he thought most expedient to [214.]

bring his Majesty and his Followers out of those Troubles, which the Lords and Gentlemen, that lately undertook it, had left no better than they found them. The Arch-bishop excusing himself, desir'd to hear others first whose Experience in those weighty Concerns might be beyond his. But this being not granted, and he being farther prest upon, spoke thus to the

[215.]
*The ABP.
 Advice to
 the King.*
 and, I fear, unwelcome: If it please not, yet do not impute it to Falshood or Fear, but to Error and Mistaking. Your Militia is courageous, but small, not like to encrease, and then not to hold out. Your Enemies multiply, and by this time your Army hath taught them to fight: They are in Treaty with the Scots, to make a Recruit; and the Princes and States beyond Seas, to their shame, give them countenance. Their Treasurers at Westminster boast, that it costs them large Moneys every Month to keep Correspondence with their Intelligencers and Spies about you. Your Souldiers in their March and Quarters are very unruly, and lose the Peoples Affections every where, by the Oppressions they sustain. Out of these Premises

mises I infer, and I engage my Life to your Majesty's Justice, and my Soul to GOD's Tribunal, that I know no better course than to struggle no further, since so it is the Will of GOD, and to refer all to the pleasure and discretion of that unkind and insolent Parliament at West-minster, but with the preservation of your Majesty's Crown and Person, to which they have all taken an Oath to offer no hurt or violence, and have renewed it in many Protestations: As likewise with Indemnity of your Adherents; for we save a Ship with the loss of the Goods, not of the Passengers. If any thing will soften them, it will be this most pacifick and gracious Condescension. The Heathen speak rudely, that Constancy in Suffering will tire out the Cruelty of the Gods; but certainly such Sufferance and Self-denial as resigns up your Majesty's Cause and Trust quite unto them, will make the worst of them ashamed of their Pertinacy, and melt the best into a shower of Repentance: But if your Majesty disdains to go so low and will not put the good of the Church and Kingdom upon their Faith, to which Misery, I fear, our Sins have brought us, I am ready to run on in the

*common Hazard with your Majesty, and
to live and die in your Service.*

[217.]

Some there were that concurr'd with his Grace in this Advice, but the King and the Generality dissented, and his Thanks for his free Speaking were but small. So his Majesty being resolv'd to try his Right by his Sword, the Arch-bishop was likewise determin'd to assist him as before. And hereupon he leaves *Oxford* in the beginning of the Spring, having receiv'd a fresh Charge from his Majesty to take Care of all *North-Wales*, but especially *Conway-Castle*. So by easy Journeys (guarded most of his way by some Forces that march'd that Road) he came to *Conway*, which was the last Journey of his Life.

*His Coun-
trymen lay
up all their
things in
Conway-
Castle.*

As many in this Countrey as had any thing to lose, were very solicitous how to secure their Things. Therefore they desir'd leave of the Arch-bishop to lay up in the Castle all their Plate, Jewels, Money, Writings, valuable Goods, and such like, each Person having an Inventory of his own share. And some that were suspected for their Loyalty, yet amongst others obtain'd this Favour, which was the ground of

of much ensuing Mischief; tho' the Arch-bishop consented to it out of Policy, thinking by such Hostages as they put into his keeping, to secure these Persons to the Interest of the King. A Twelve-month after, Sir [218.]
John Owen (a Colonel for the King) Athenæ Oxon. p.
 coming this way after a Defeat, he 804.
 obtain'd of Prince *Rupert* to be substituted under his Hand, Commander The Castle taken from the ABP.
 of the Castle; and so surprising it by Force, he entred it; notwithstanding that the Castle was before given to the Bishop under the King's own Signet, to possess it quietly, till his cost lay'd out upon it should be refunded to him, which as yet had been never offer'd: and notwithstanding the Prince himself had back'd his Majesty's Pleasure therein, and had by his Letters commanded all Officers by Sea and Land to assist him in it.

Upon this the Arch-bishop sends to his Majesty at *Oxford* this Remonstrance by the Hand of Captain *James Martin*.

I. **U**pon the Ninth of May 1645. He com- plains to Sir J. Owen Governour of Con-
 way, about Seven of the Clock in the the King.
 T 4 Evening

Evening, before the Night-Guard was sent unto the Castle, the possession whereof was placed by the King in the ABP. of York, and his Assigs, upon great and valuable considerations by his gracious Letters, and under his Majesty's Hand and Signet, bearing date at Oxford August 1. 1643. did with Bars of Iron and Armed Men, break the Locks and Doors, and enter into the said Castle, and seize upon the Place, the Victuals, Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, laid in by the said ABP. at his own charge, without the least contribution from the King or the Countrey, for the Defence of the Place, and the Service of the King and the said Countrey.

2. That being demanded by the said Arch-bishop to suffer two of the said Arch-bishop's Men to be there with his rabble of Grooms and beggerly People, to see the Goods of the Countrey preserv'd from filching, and the Victuals and Ammunition from wasting and purloyning, Sir John in a furious manner utterly refus'd it, tho' all the Company cry'd upon him to do so for his own discharge, yet he would not listen to any reason, but promised the next day

to suffer all things to be inventoried, and the Lord Arch-bishop to take away what he would, Sir John acknowledging all the Goods and Ammunition to be his.

3. The next day he receded again from all this, would not permit at the entreaty of the Bishop of St. Asaph, his own Cousin-German, any of the Arch-bishop's Men to go and look to the Goods, nor suffer his Servants to fetch forth for his Grace's use (who hath linger'd long under a great Sickness and Weakness) either a little Wine, to make him some Cawdles, or so much as a little of his own stale Beer to make him Possets, which all the Countrey conceive to be very barbarous.

4. The said Sir John continueth rambling from place to place, and detaineth still all the goods of the Countrey, laid up in this Castle, as conceived to be owned by the Arch-bishop, who was like to be responsal for them; and had duly returned them in other Years: and threatens to seize upon the Plate, and all things else of Value to his own use. Than which no Rebel or Enemy could deal more outrageously.

5. The Arch-bishop desires his Majesty would reposess him of the Right of this Castle, according to his Majesty's Grant made upon valuable consideration. And that if his Majesty's pleasure be that Sir Jo. Owen (or any other Man of more Moderation and less precipitancy) should be there, he come under the Arch-bishop his Assignment, as Right requires, and as Colonel Ellis and Mr. Chichely were content to do, and did. To the which the Arch-bishop (as Colonel Ellis and Sir Will. Legg can witness) was ever willing to give way.

6. That howsoever, the ABP may have all his Goods and Chattels, all his Cannon, Ammunition, Arms, and Powder, Provision in Beef, Beer, Wine, Cheese, Butter Oatmeal and Corn presently restored to him. And what is wasted and made away, may be answer'd to him by Sir John: As also that all the Inhabitants of this and the Neighbour Countries, may have their Goods presently out of the Castle, before they be pilfered and imbezled.

7. Or otherwise, that his Majesty, and Prince Rupert his Lieutenant, will graciously permit and suffer, with their gracious Favour, the said Arch-bishop and

and Inhabitants of the Countrey, to repair with their Complaints to the Assembly at Oxford, and the Committee there, against these, and many other Outrages and Concussions of the said Sir Jo. Owen, under colour of being Governour and Sheriff of this Town, not warranted by any of his Commissions.

This proved of none effect, and [219.]
procured only delays from Week to ^{But has no}
Week, till at last Capt. Martin receiv'd ^{Redress.}
this cold Answer, That it should be
consider'd at more Leisure. When he
return'd thus into Wales, and brought
not the least Satisfaction, nor a Com-
plimental Excuse to pacify the Arch-
bishop he said nothing, lest he should
have said too much: but his great Spi-
rit was chaf'd with this great Indig-
nity.

After this, fifteen Months expir'd, and the Arch-bishop had no Redress; at which time Col. Mitton (a violent Man against the King) coming from Chester (of which he was possest) march'd over Dee, through Flint and Denbysire, quite to Conway Town. Up-
Col. Mitton by the Assistance of the Country possesses the Castle, advised by the ABP.
on this the Arch-bishop consults with some few what was best to be done in this

this Case, to secure the People and their Possessions. They agree to parley with *Mitton* (who was sensible enough of his own Strength and their Weakness:) They perceiving that the Col. aim'd at the Castle, where all their Wealth was deposited; and seeing moreover, That he was more haughty than covetous, they clos'd by Insinuations with him, relating how Sir John Owen had surpriz'd the Castle, detain'd their Goods, and insulted over them who had born Arms in the same Cause; therefore they offer'd to joyn with him to put him into the Castle, upon Condition that every Proprietary might obtain what he could prove by the Archbishop's Inventory to belong to him; and all that was over and above, he should be welcome to it himself. And thus the

Archbishop with his Art and fair Lan-

guage, got Mitton's Consent; and immediately thereupon without the least delay the Souldiers, assisted by the* *Archbishop and his Kindred, with other bear Arms, Welsh,* forc'd open the Gates, and but acquirs entred the Castle, which Col. *Mitton* but acquirs possest himself of, and kept his Word in letting the Owners take those Goods to which they could prove their Title.

And

[220.]

And this is a brief Narration of the Matter of Fact, transcrib'd, almost Word for Word, out of B. *Hacket*; so that if any thing prove amiss, it is no fault of mine, for I knew not where to seek for better Information. If the Reader thinks the Arch-bishop stands in need of a Defence (especially from the black Constructions of some Hi-
Sanderſ.
ſtorianſ) he may ſee how B. *Hacket* <sup>K. Charles
p. 889.</sup> has commented upon this Action; or if he has a mind to read an Apology ^{Harmar's} for his Grace in a Piece of neat *Latin*, ^{Apolog.} there is one extant. So I leave him <sup>Lond. pr.
80. 1649.</sup> to his own Judgment; adding only, That if the Arch-bishop had any ſuch Designs as to affiſt the *Parliament* against the King, it is perhaps one of the greatest Incoſiſtencies that is to be met with (considering the whole Tenor of his Actions to this Moment) in any Man's Life; and to think of it ^{Fuller's} was the wonder of all Men in those <sup>Ch. Hisſ.
B. XI. p.
227.</sup> Times. And a certain Author affirms, that a Kinsman of his Grace's told him, *That if he might have the convenience to ſpeak with his Maſteſty but one half Hour, he doubted not but to give him full Satisfaction for his Behaviour.* We are told too by another

other Hand, That the dreadful Stories
of his declaring for the Parliament, was
nothing else, but his garrisoning of his
own House, and discountenancing some
stragling Cavaliers that did no good,
but lye upon the Countreys themselves,
and draw thither whole Armies of the
Enemy to lye upon it too.

We have dwelt something long upon
the Business of Conway-Castle, but it
could not be well dispatch'd in less
time. Now let us look a little again
upon the melancholy prospect of the
King's Affairs, in which tho' our ABP.
now had it not in his Power to be
active, yet he was deeply concern'd
all along for his Majesty. Who now
seeing Oxford was in danger of a
Siege from Fairfax's Victorious Army,
began to bethink himself of his own
Safety, and was perswaded by *Moun-*
sieur Mountrevile, privily to leave the
Town; which accordingly he did, ac-
companied only with two Persons,
and not above ten were made privy
to it. And the first Tidings of his
Royal Person was, that he was at the
Scots Camp before Newark. Which
when it was told our ABP. he said,
*What! be advis'd by a Stranger, and
trust*

*The King
leaves Ox-
ford.*

*Baker's
Chron.*

Apr. 27.
An. 1646.

trust the Scots! then all is lost. The Treachery of the Scots to his Majesty, and all the unparallel'd Troubles that henceforward attended the King, till that very Hour in which he was en-roll'd amongst the Blessed Martyrs, suffering from the Hands of his own Subjects, all this the Reader is too seek for elsewhere, since it is foreign to my Purpose.

So I return to the ABp. who was *The ABp.* extreamly concern'd at the Death of so ^{great sor-} good a King, whose Character in a ^{row for} *Fast Sermon* he had once given, *That* ^{the Death} *of the King.* *he was as like Virtue it self, as could* ^[225, &c.] *be pattern'd in Flesh and Blood.* So deep a Sense had his Grace of the Loss of his most Sacred Majesty, and of the Guilt of his Innocent Blood that lay upon the Nation, that from this Time, he rose out of his Bed constantly at Midnight, and without any thing on but his Shirt and Wastcoat, kneel'd upon his bare Knees, and pray'd earnestly for a Quarter of an Hour, before he went to his Rest again. And the reason why he observ'd the Midnight-Season was, because the Scriptures speak of our Saviour's Coming in the Night; the principal Matter of his Prayers being

ing this, *Come, Lord JESUS, come quickly, and put an end to these Days of Sin and Misery.* From this time his Spirit (which no Misfortunes before could touch) was perfectly broke, and he never look'd up again. All his wonted chearfulness, and his pleasant Humour was quite overcast. No Man formerly more averse than he to Privacy, yet now he thinks no Retirement too close and obscure. He shuns Company all he can; his Discourse sparing, or if he inquires after any News, 'tis after those that try'd the King, especially *Cromwel* and *Bradshaw*, expecting every Hour some signal Judgment upon them. Thus disconsolate he continued for two Years and almost two Months, no one being able to give an account of any thing he did, but that he pray'd and read all Day, and much of the Night. And now every Month brought on a greater Decay in his Constitution than a Year before. Nor was he without Prognosticks of his Death (as 'tis said) some time before it: and sometimes, when he had said Grace after Meat, and was rising from the Table, he would say, *I am ready for the Lord.*

His

His Death was occasion'd by a sudden Catarrh, which caus'd a Quinsey, and a shortness of Breath, all which dissolv'd him in the space of twelve Hours. During which time the Virtuous Lady *Mostyn* (at whose House he was) spoke to him of his preparation for another World: *Cousin* (says he) *I am already prepar'd, and will be better prepar'd.* So he sent for the Minister that was nearest, and had the *Visitation of the Sick* read twice over to him, the greatest part whereof (especially the *Psalms*) he repeated distinctly himself, and receiv'd *Absolution*. When the Pangs of Death were upon him, many other Prayers were read, and short Sentences of Devotion repeated aloud in his Ears; and these Words being said often, *The Lord be merciful to thee, the Lord receive thy Soul*, at that Instant, first he clos'd his Eyes with one Hand, and then lifting up the other, his Lips mov'd, and recommending his Spirit to his Redeemer, he expired.

[* 228.]

1649. ac-
cording to
some.Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI. p.

228.

* He died aged 68 Years 1650. the Day of his Birth and of his Death being the same; which happening on the 25 of March, it occasioned some

U dispute,

dispute, whether his Half-year's Rents (due after Sun-rise) should go with his *Goods* and *Chattels* to his *Executor*, or fall to his *Heir*. But such was the providence of the Parties concern'd therein, that before it came to a Suit,

His Burial. they seasonably compounded it among Athen. Ox. themselves. From Glodded (where he

vol. 2. p. died) in the Parish of Eglwysfrose his
684.685.

*In Welsh Body was carried to Penrhyn, and
it signifies there buried in *Llandegay Church,
the Church of St. Gay.

He left his in a little Vault, at the upper end of
Heir 1000 the Chancel. Some Years after this,

l. per An. his Nephew and Heir Sir Griffith Wil-

Da. Lloyd. liams, erected on the North-Wall of

Life of Williams. the said Chancel a very fair Monu-
ment, with the Effigies of the ABP.
kneeling, in white Marble, and a
large Inscription under it, made by
Dr. John Hacket, his sometimes Chap-
lain.

*His Char-
acter.* I am thinking whether after this full Draught of the Actions of this great Man, it would not be an Abuse

to my Reader's Reflection to con-
clude with a Character of him: Espe-
cially since a great part of this Life is
wrote by way of Character, and his
Actions very often for the clearer view
of him dispos'd under proper Heads,
omit-

omitting the Series of Time. But then again, since I find in Authors something of his Person, and something of the Qualifications of his Mind, which I have not as yet so fully told my Reader of, I thought it might not be unacceptable, if I collected the few following Observations upon him. So singular was the Strength of his Constitution, so strict his Education, so unwearied his Industry, and so vast his Capacity, that 'tis a hard matter to determine to which of all

D. Lloyd's
Life of
Williams;
& Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
B. XI. p.

228.

these he was most indebted, for all his more than ordinary Qualifications.

His Learning was copious, his Judgment stay'd, his Apprehension clear and searching, his Expression lively and effectual, his Elocution flowing and Majestick.

His Person was proper, his Countenance comely, his Complexion fair and lovely; his Gait so stately, that most People mistook it for Pride, but his Conversation free and familiar to a Fault; Judge of the greatness of his Spirit, by his refusing the Offers of his Friends, when he was in his lowest Condition in the Tower, saying, *That he knew not how to take from any but*

[75.]

[63.] *a King.* He was subject to sudden Passions, but never so as to lose himself, for at such times he would reason with all exactness of a calm Temper. He understood how to nick an Opportunity; and would say, *That every Man had it sooner or later.* When he was to appear in Publick, he took great care about his Preparation; *And the greater the Performance he was to undertake, the more Liberty and Recreation he took*, saying, That we could add nothing to what had been done before, but Method and Perspicuity. Which Judgment of so great a Man I desire may plead for me, in attempting this Performance, after a Reverend and Learned Prelate.

*Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
228. §. 31.*

And now having brought so considerable a Person (*by Honour and Dishonour, by good Report and evil Report*) at last to the Period of a busy, active and troublesom Life; I shall moralize upon the whole, with what his Lordship himself once said to a grave Divine, coming to him for Institution to a Living: *I have (said he) pass'd through many Places of Honour and Trust, both in Church and State, more than any of my Order in England these seventy Years*

*Years before. But were I but assured,
that by my Preaching I had converted
but one Soul unto GOD, I should take
therein more Spiritual Joy and Comfort,
than in all the Honours and Offices
which have been bestow'd upon me.*

The E N D.

U 3

AN

AN
APPENDIX
To the LIFE of
ABP. WILLIAMS.

*Wherein is a true Account of his
 Benefactions to St. John's Col-
 lege in Cambridge; with a brief
 Vindication of that College from
 the Aspersions that have been un-
 justly thrown upon it with re-
 ference to this Most Reverend
 Prelate.*

I hope my particular Relation and Obligations to this Worthy Society, and the heinousness of the Charge laid against it (and yet credited by a great many) will excuse me for troubling the World with these few following Pages, which I have Collected from some Papers, drawn from the College Writings, by a late Member of the Society, on pur-

*Dr. Mor-
 ton.*

pose

pose to rectifie the World in a mistake, which might prove of ill Consequence to the Credit of Colleges in general, but of ours in particular.

A certain Author, who seems industrious to defame us (upon what provocation we know not) makes bold to tell the World (bringing no Authority at all for so black and malicious an Aspersion) that Arch-Bishop *Williams* at St. John's College in Cambridge Founded two Fellowships, Built a fair Library, and furnish'd it with Books, intending more, had his Bounty then met with proportionable Entertainment; and then he concludes with this cutting remark, *But Benefactors may give Money, but not grateful Minds to such as receive it.* The application of which to our Society I shall demonstrate to be wholly impertinent and false to all candid Persons, who shall read the following true State and Account of that our noble Benefactor's Liberality.

And first, to do him more Right than this our great Accuser has done, we do most gratefully acknowledge, that besides his two mention'd Fel-

low-

*The Recto-
ries of
Freshwa-
ter and
Souldren
and the
Donatives
of St. Flo-
rence and
Aberdar-
ton.*

lowships, he Founded four Scholarships, and gave us the perpetual Advouson of four Ecclesiastical Benefices, Two with Cure and Two without Cure; besides a very fair large gilt Bowl with a Cover, for publick use at Festivals. From this Acknowledgment I proceed to a short Vindication of the College, begining with that, whereby his Lordship gave us the first and that a very pregnant Instance of his Munificence, which is his building of a very fair Library. The Old Library of the College being not capacious enough for it's intended use, and a second Court being added to the College for the most part at the vast Charge of that magnificent Lady, the Lady *Mary*, Consort of the Right Honourable *Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury*; they were now casting about, by what means they might procure a New Library. And there was no one on whom they could with better Hopes cast their Eyes, or with more confident Expectations make their Addresses to, to begin and carry on so great and noble a design, than Dr. *John Williams*, at that time Dean of *Westmin-ster*,

ster, Bishop of *Lincoln*, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal: one who had a particular knowledge of most and a friendly familiarity with some of the Fellows, and a special kindness for this Place of his Education, wherein he lay'd the first Grounds of all his future Advancements. Being besides of a Liberal and Generous Spirit, and by his great Office and Promotions in a full Capacity alone to undertake, advance and compleat such (or a more expensive) Publick and beneficial Work; the Society encourag'd with all these favourable and inviting Circumstances, they make Application to him, and their humble suit finds a very kind Entertainment. In pursuance whereof a Model is drawn, presented, approv'd, and Materials providing for the Fabrick. And in this lucky juncture of Things, that noble Gentleman Sr. *Ralph Hare* of *Stow-Bardolf* in the County of *Norfolk*, Knight of the *Bath*, having some time before read Sr. *Henry Spelman*. *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, and thereupon resolving to restore to some pious use his Improperiate Rectory of *Cherry-Marham* by

U 5 . settling

settling it upon this *College*, did forthwith very seasonably bestow Three years Rent of the said Impropriation (which lay sequester'd by him for some good design) amounting to 192*l.* to begin the Foundation of the New Library. The most bountiful Prelate prevented by this unexpected Gift from laying the first Stones, yet follows the Work begun with continu'd and large supplies, at several times, in the years 1623 and 1624. to the value of 2011*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And the rest of the Charge for the entire finishing of the whole Work fell upon the College it self, which was (besides the daily allowance of Bread and Beer to the Workmen) in ready Money 787*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* The whole cost of the Building amounting to no less then 2991*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

Now we have been so far from disobliging this so profuse a Benefactor, with respect to his first Essay of bounty towards us, that we have not envy'd him the Glory of the whole, in commonly reputing him the sole Founder of this goodly Building, in as much as he was so deeply concern'd in bearing well near Two third parts

parts of the Charge: But seeing we are forc'd to this in our own Vindication, we could no longer suppress the truth (tho' it somewhat derogate from his Lordship's suppos'd Munificence, as the only Erecter of the Library) lest we should be found too injurious to the Honour and Memory of that generous Knight, who so freely contributed to the first Foundation, and false to the Society it self, which underwent the great Charge of near a Thousand pounds to perfect the Work.

As to any Books, with which this great Founder is represented by our calumniating Historian to have immediately furnish'd the New-erected Library, we declare that we find no Memorial, but on the contrary have Grounds highly reasonable to believe, that he did then confer none. One Reason for all may be, that our Predecessors (who provided a fair *Vellam* Book to perpetuate the Memories of all the worthy Benefactors to the Library, that either have been, or are to be) took care to have his Lordship's Picture at length and Arms drawn therein, and that his special Bene-

Benefaction should be most advantageously transmitted to Posterity, have done it in these Words. *Reverendus in Christo Pater Johannes Episc. Lincoln. &c. hanc splendidam Bibliothecam præter duos Socios & quatuor Scholares, fundavit. At non contenta hisce magnificis ædibus tam effusa honoratissimi Præsulis Benignitas, propriæ Bibliothecæ Libros (uti patet ex Syngraphâ) nobis dicavit.* Which words as they plainly shew only a design and voluntary obligation on his Lordship's Part for the future to give his own Library, so they do by implication strongly infer, that he had not then actually extended his Bounty that way. And let the World now judge, whether the then Society did hereby give any the least suspicion of ingratitude, in that their lasting Memorial of his Bounty, which might justly hinder his intended future Munificence; when they thus openly and freely recognize him as well the Founder of the Library it self (notwithstanding the other foremention'd Disbursements for the Fabrick) as of two Fellows and four Scholars: and what pre-

tence

tence or reason our Historical Cavalier had for publishing such an Assertion, that the unthankfulness of the College, and their unsuitable Reception and Return of their great Benefactor's Liberality had put a final stop to all other his Lordship's design'd Favours.

His Lordship indeed did soon after this, upon second Thoughts, (but chiefly upon the humble suggestion of the College, that a present Supply of Books would be more acceptable) take in his former Instrument, whereby he gave his own whole Library after his death to the College, and in compliance with their Request oblig'd himself by Indenture, to the Annual Payment of One Hundred pounds for Ten years together then next to come, for the more speedy furnishing of the Library with Books; and for further security thereof did anew make over his own Library, and sent a true Catalogue of his Books to be kept among the *Records* of the *College*. Which Annuity of one Hundred pounds for Ten years, or any part thereof being never paid, (by what neglect or mischance

chance is not known) his Lordship foreseeing the Troubles coming upon him, wherein he was for several years after sorely involv'd, did order his said Library (then in the Custody of one *Kilvert* and by him much imbezled) to be deliver'd up into the Possession of the *College*, for the satisfaction of that Thousand Pound, for which his own Bounty had made him a Debter. And accordingly impair'd as it was it came into the *College*-hands, and so continu'd till the year 1640. when his Lordship was set at Liberty from the *Tower*, and in some measure restor'd to his Majesty's Grace and Favour, and advanc'd to the Arch-Bishoprick of *York*. Upon which his happy Restitution and high Promotion, his Library, as receiv'd, was at his Instance return'd back, and lent unto him again (no ungrateful disobligation we hope) and by him remov'd to his Study in the Deanery of *Westminster*. And upon his Lordship's removal first to *York*, and then his retirement into *Wales*, they were seiz'd upon by the Parliament, and committed to the Custody of some Gentlemen for seven

ven years. After which time, at the Arch-Bishop's Suit the Keys of his Study were deliver'd to one Mr. *Gouland*, as Trustee for the Bishop during his Life, and some of the Books in the mean time sent down by his Lordship's order to him in *Wales*. Upon his Lordship's Death the remainder of the Library fell into his Administrator's hands, from whom the *College* at last receiv'd them, and gave both him and Mr. *Gouland* and other Persons concern'd legal Discharges as well for the Annuity aforesaid (for which being unpay'd they accepted the mangled Library as a full Compensation) as for the Books themselves. The truth of which do's fully appear from the several Releases given by the College
An. 1650. under their common Seal to the interess'd Persons; which to insert here would be too tedious.

The Books being thus come into the Possession of the *College*, it was next to be advis'd, how they might be most advantageously bestow'd according to the Noble and Right Reverend Donor's Mind, and for the benefit of the Society. It was therefore

fore at length concluded by and with the approbation of *Griffith Williams* Esquire, his Lordship's Heir and Administrator, that such Books as were entire and not before in the Library should be reserv'd and there dispos'd; and the rest either Imperfect or Duplicates to be sold, and with the Monies thereby rais'd (after charges deducted) a Purchase of Lands should be made, the Rents whereof should be determin'd partly to the Annual Increase of the Library-Keeper's stipend (as he himself had design'd) and partly for buying of Books, to be for ever reputed as of his Lordship's Gift, that so he might continue a perpetual Benefactor to that Library, whereof he truly was the chief Founder. The account of all which both Sale and Purchase (the Particulars being yet to be seen) as left us upon *Record* under our Auditor's own Hand, makes it appear, that the College did expend 125*l. 4s. 7d.* more about the Books and the Purchase than they had then receiv'd for them. Which Sum they did first reimburse themselves with (as in all Reason and Equity they ought) out of the yearly

yearly Rents of the purchass'd Lands,
and after that did yearly pay the full
Rents of those Lands in the following
manner.

To the Library-

Keeper for the	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
Augmentation of his stipend.	06. 13. 04.	
For Books for the Library, as his Lordship's perpetual Gift.	<i>l. s. d.</i> 13. 06. 08.	20.00.00

I doubt not now but that this Account, as it is true, so also will be satisfactory to all unprejudic'd Persons, and justify both it self and our Predecessors, as well as the living Members, that neither the past nor present Society have in this Instance in the least wrong'd our great Patron's Donation, or done any thing unworthy of those vast obligations he hath lay'd upon this *College*. And if perchance in the Judgment of any one who is Impartial, they have been mistaken in their Measures, and have not set out our Benefactor to the fairest advantage; yet the Concurrence

of his Heir and Administrator with them (the properest and most likely Assertor and Promoter of his Honour) will vindicate that their Error from any malicious and ungrateful design of derogating from his Bounty and deserv'd Glory.

I have been something particular in the Account of the Library, because it was but short, and because it has been and is much talk'd of still to the great discredit of the College. I should in the next place go on to give an Account of his other Benefactions to us, and that neither our Predecessors nor we have ever abus'd any of them; as likewise with what Respect and Gratitude the Society behav'd themselfes to him while he was alive, and how they always look'd upon his Requests unto them as so many Commands. But to give the particulars of all this (as might be done from the College Writings) would make this Appendix Voluminous, and would be but to trouble the Publick perhaps too much with a private injury. And I shall only add one of all his Lordship's Letters to the College to shew how far he was from charging it with ingratitude to him.

My

My Reverend and Worthy Friend,

I Do recommend to you the Bearer here-
of John Williams, a Scholar from my
poor Foundation at Westminster, to
succeed in that vacant Scholarship void
in your College sithence the last Com-
mencement. So that what I subscrib'd
to a Petition of one Robinson, a Pen-
sioner of that Society, is hereby become
void; I not knowing at that time of
any of that Foundation which would
accept thereof. I do acknowledge I am
much bound to you and the Seniors, for
many Favours done to my poor Scholars
from time to time; and shall hardly be
able to make any Requital for the one
part, much less am I in case to be a
Petitioner for those to come. But if
you shall be pleas'd, with those of the
Seniority that have any Remembrance
of me, for his own Worth (which, as I
conceive by some Exercises of his, is
more than ordinary) and at the Intreaty of
a Beadsman of your College (who lieth
buried here in an heap of Stones) to chuse
one Thomas Tylden now Student in
your House, and an Oxfordshire Man
(of which County you were wont to
have but very few) into a Foundresse's
Place,

Place, whereof (if I remember your Statutes) he is very capable, you shall thereby do a worthy Act, which includes much of the Recompence in it self, and oblige me (if GOD ever bring me from this Place) to study upon all Occasions to requite it. You may have many Bishops that can better gratify your Courtesies at this Time, but not one that loves your Society more affectionately, and prays for it more devoutly than

Your Loving Friend and Servant,

JO. LINCOLN.

I recommend me heartily to your self and all the Seniors.

Tower, this 23.
Sept. 1640.

To my Reverend and worthy Friend Mr. Dr. Beale Master of St. John's College in Cambridge.

Now, where I wonder, in all this Letter is there the least Appearance of any disgust taken by his Lordship at the College, so as to make him repent either of his former Kindnesses to it, or to put a stop to any future; when it grieves him that he is not in a Capacity of doing more than he had done? And that he continued to have the same

same benevolent Mind towards this his Mother-College to his dying Day, we have very good Grounds to believe. For Mr. *Thomas Wharton* sometime of *Gray's-Inn*, diverting himself one *Christmas* (since the Bishop's Death) in this Place of his Education, upon occasion of Discourse concerning his Lordship's Foundation, did upon his Credit declare to several Members of this Society, That for some time before this Renowned Prelate's Death, * he often heard his Lordship mention the Kindness of the *College* to his Foundation, and how unhappily his Designs of making them Reparations for the Detriment they had sustained thereby were frustrated. For they accepted of his Foundation of Fellows and Scholars (merely out of Gratitude to him) at less than half the Revenue, which was sufficient to maintain it, for which reason after the sustaining of much Loss, they were at last forc'd to sink the Fellowships in their own Defence, and in compliance with a Statute of the College. But (continues Mr. *Wharton's Account*) that he was finally resolv'd to be as good as his Word, and leave them a large

ton was at
that time
Secretary to
the Arch-
bishop.

and lasting Testimony of his additional Bounty: that in Prosecution of this generous Resolution he had pitch'd upon an Estate of Three Hundred Pounds *per An.* to be settled upon the *College* for ever to this End and Purpose; That the Writings of settlement were actually drawn, and read over to, and approv'd of by him. But it being somewhat late at Night, and his Lordship much indispos'd, he defer'd the signing and sealing of them, till the next Morning, before which time it pleas'd God to take him out of the World. By which we and our Successors were not only depriv'd of a Noble Benefactor, but of a perpetual Advocate; this his last Design (had it but by a short continuance of his Life taken effect) being sufficient to stop the Mouths of all our Accusers, and to vindicate the Innocence of the Society from those ill surmizes that it has for some Years very unjustly labour'd under.

The End of the Appendix.



The Inscription upon the Arch-
bishop's Tomb-Stone, compos'd
by Bishop Hacket.

Hospes lege, relege. Quod in hoc Sa-
cello, paucis noto, haud expectares,
Hic situs est Johannes Wilhelmus, omni-
um Præsulum celeberrimus:
A paternis natalibus è familia Wilhel-
morum de Coghillin ortus,
A maternis è Griffithis de Pentrin.
Cujus summum ingenium, & in omni ge-
nere literarum præstantia
Meruit, ut Regis Jacobigratiâ ad De-
canatum Sarum
Post Westmonasterii evehheretur.
Ut simul, atque uno munere, tanto Regi
esset à consiliis secretis & deliciis,
Magni Sigilli Custos, & Sedis Lincol-
nensis Episcopus:
Quem Carolus primus insula Epi-
scop. Eboracen. decoraret.
Omnes scientias valde edoctus: novem
linguarum thesaurus:
Theologiæ puræ & illibatae medulla: pru-
dentiæ politicæ cortina:
Sacrae, canonicae, civilis, municipalis sa-
pientiae apex, & ornamentum.
Dulci-

*Dulciloquii cymbalum, memoriae tene-
cissimæ, plusquam humanæ :*

*Historiarum omnis generis myro-
thecium.*

*Magnorum operum, usque ad sumtum vi-
ginti mille librarum, structor.*

*Munificentæ, liberalitatis, hospitalis
lautitiae,*

*Misericordiæ erga pauperes insigne
exemplum.*

*Postquam inter tempora luctuosissima
Satur esset omnium, quæ videret, &
audiret ;*

*Nec Regi aut Patriæ, per rabiem perdu-
ellum, amplius servire potuit ;*

*Anno etatis 68°. expleto, Martii 25°.
qui fuit ei natalis,*

*Summâ fide in Christum, inconcussum
erga Regem fidelitate,*

*Animam, anginâ extinctus, piissimè
Deo reddidit.*

*Nec refert quod tantillum monumentum,
in occulto angulo positum,*

Tanti viri memoriam servat.

*Cujus virtutes omnium ætatum tempora
celebrabunt.*

Abi viator, sat tuis oculis debes.